CONSIDERATIONS

ON

INDIA AFFAIRS,

PART II.

VOL. II.

MDCCLXXX.

BY WILLIAM BOLTS.

THE COMPANY, the Implacable PROVINCES in INDIA, and the KINGDOM.

As well collectively denominated with numerous Inferior Powers duly United Interests by

The Whole Informed by a Collection of INDISPUTABLE AUTHORITIES,

IN BENGAL.

Operations and Principles of their late Governing-Servants

late Courts of EAST INDIA DIRECTORS in LONDON, and of the

A full Exposure of the PATAL Tendency and Injustice of the

A complete VINDICATION of the AUTHOR, from the

MALICIOUS and GROUNDLESS CHARGES of Mr. VANSITTART,

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WITH

A juſt EXPOSURE of the FATAL IGNORANCE and INJUSTICE of the late Courts of EAST INDIA DIRECTORS in LONDON, and of the Oppreſſions and Iniquities of their late GOVERNING-SERVANTS in BENGAL.

The Whole ſupported by ſo copious a Collection of INDISPUTABLE AUTHORITIES, as will effectually demonſtrate what immenſe Injuries have been ſuffered therefrom by

THE COMPANY, the ſubjected PROVINCES in INDIA, and this KINGDOM.

BY WILLIAM BOLTS.

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MDCCLXXV.

INDIA AFFAIRS.

ON

CONSIDERATIONS.

PREFACE.

IN defence of the former part of this Publication, againſt Mr. *Verelſt*, the writer has found it neceſſary to enter minutely into the Adminiſtration of the Government of *Bengal*, under the late Preſidents and Select Committees. The whole of what he had to ſay, on that ſubject, was printed off before the death of Lord *Clive*, reſerving a few pages for the concluſion of the ſixth Chapter, which relates to the *Armenian* Merchants, whoſe cauſes were then on the point of deciſion in the Court of Common Pleas: on which account likewiſe this publication was poſtponed. It is unfortunate for the writer, that his work will now appear after the death of the noble Lord, whoſe conduct, as Preſident of *Bengal*, is particularly pointed at. But to avoid the appearance of a malignity which he never harboured, by letter of the 28th *November* 1774, he acquainted one of his Lordſhip's Executors with the then ſtate of this work, which he offered to ſubmit to their inſpection: and he has now only to aſſure the Public, that every word it contains ſtands as it was originally intended for his Lordſhip's eye.

This publication, however, has been already too long delayed, in hopes of final deciſions in the Courts of Law, on ſome matters that are therein treated of. But the law-practices of injunctions, demurrers, new trials, writs of error, bills of exception, and appeals from one Court to another, which are become matters of courſe, where the parties have wealth equal to the expence, furniſh an indefinite latitude for delay. As the ſame reaſon for procraſtination

craſtination might therefore ſtill ſubſiſt at the expiration of ſeveral years more, the writer could not ſuffer falſehood and injuſtice any longer to prevail over truth and innocence, from the miſinformation that has been obtruded on the minds of mankind.

Among many other ſubjects in which the intereſts of the Public are more materially concerned, the following ſheets preſent to the reader a complicated ſcene of injuſtice that has been practiſed towards the writer. But great as have been his ſufferings, he has the ſatisfaction to reflect, that, unconnected with party-affairs, he has ſuſtained them all in the cauſe of humanity, without any partial view of his own. The oppreſſions which have ſtripped him of his fortune have not been able to reach his mind: and though ſingle and unſupported againſt the combined forces of wealth, power, influence, and connexions, he yet ſees no ground on which he is not able to meet his enemies, from a conſciouſneſs that the moſt inveterate of them can juſtly accuſe him of nothing worſe than knowing their iniquities and forgiving their injuries.

He entertains no unjuſt reſentments againſt the late Governors and Councils of *Bengal*; and his publications will demonſtrate that he has not conſulted his own intereſt, in any of the public tranſactions in which he has been concerned. He therefore hopes no aſperity of thought or expreſſion will be found in any part of his writings, but ſuch as is not only fully juſtified by the facts treated of, but ſuch as thoſe facts would have made it criminal, in the moſt unconcerned narrator, to have ſoftened.

He alſo hopes apologies for imperfections in his work will be thought needleſs, from the candid allowance which every conſiderate reader, who reflects on the embarraſſments, perplexities, and difficulties which he has had to encounter,

encounter, will be naturally diſpoſed to make. Errors of the preſs, and even imperfections in compoſition, he therefore relies on the reader's goodneſs to excuſe. His ſole aim has been to furniſh important information, which he has endeavoured faithfully to do: and for nothing elſe does he preſume to be a candidate for fame.

The numerous papers contained in the APPENDIX are arranged under diſtinct heads, for the ſake of perſpicuity, as to matters and dates; and they may be conſidered as ſeparate hiſtorical narrations with reſpect to the ſubjects of each collection. On this account many explanatory notes were deemed neceſſary; and if any of them ſhould appear to be repeated in ſuch a multiplicity of materials, or to have been given in ſubſtance in any part of the text, the writer, thereon, humbly requeſts the indulgence of the candid reader, who is likewiſe deſired to cancel the note in page 287 of the APPENDIX, as the letter there referred to has been ſince found in one ſection of the Company's *Perſian* Correſpondence.

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CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTORY MATTER:

WITH A REFUTATION OF

MR. VERELST'S First CHARGE of GUILT on the WRITER.

WHEN the book intitled *Conſiderations on* India *Affairs* was firſt ſubmitted to the public, the writer did intend to have inſerted his own caſe therein, as he could not furniſh any inſtances of more unjuſtifiable, arbitrary, and oppreſſive conduct in the ſuperior ſervants of the *Eaſt India* Company, than what he had himſelf experienced, and could fully prove. But having at that time, though much againſt his inclination, ſeveral actions and ſuits at law depending, againſt the Company and their late *Bengal*-ſervants, he carefully avoided the inſertion of any matter relating to himſelf; confining his repreſentations, as much as his facts would admit, to general objects, in which the public were moſt concerned. Several cogent reaſons however, at this time, combine to render that caution unneceſſary.

Firſt, Becauſe Mr. *Harry Verelſt*, late Governor of *Bengal*, and principal defendant in the writer's ſuits, hath ſince cauſed a book to be publiſhed, with his name * prefixed to it, in which it evidently appears to have been his chief VIEW, to invalidate the ſtrong charges and true informations contained in *Conſiderations on* India *Affairs*; by heaping groundleſs accuſations, with illiberal invectives, on their author: for to that one purpoſe have Mr. *Verelſt*'s writers actually appropriated the firſt forty-two pages of their work.

Secondly, Becauſe, in conſequence of the oppreſſive proceedings of Mr. *Verelſt*, and the other ſuperior ſervants of the *Eaſt India* Com-

* A View of the riſe, progreſs, and preſent ſtate of the *Engliſh* government in *Bengal*.

pany, the writer hath been reduced from affluence to bankruptcy; while moſt of his creditors, both in *Aſia* and *Europe*, have little knowledge of the means whereby that ruin has been effected, in which they are eventually become the innocent ſufferers; and much leſs of the inefficacy, in the writer's caſe, of the laws under which alone they and he can expect ample juſtice.

Thirdly, Becauſe the ruin of any other reſident under the protection of the *Britiſh* flag in *Aſia*, may yet be effected by the ſame means, to the great injury of his Majeſty's *Aſiatic* and *European* ſubjects; againſt which evils the laws at preſent exiſting afford no adequate ſecurity.

Fourthly, Becauſe, If the truth and efficacy of *Conſiderations*, &c. are to depend upon the veracity of the author, and that is to be decided on from pretended authorities in Mr. *Verelſt*'s book, it is to be feared, that when the ruling powers of the ſtate may be framing their ultimate reſolutions concerning the government of the ſubordinate kingdoms in *India*, the minds of too many, who act for the community, may be influenced to doubt of the moſt important truths, from having been inſidiouſly prejudiced againſt the man who pronounced them.

As this publication is, therefore, become an act of neceſſity with regard to himſelf, of juſtice towards his creditors, and of abſolute duty reſpecting the public, the writer flatters himſelf that every candid reader will admit the propriety of the inſertion of ſuch parts of it as relate to his own caſe.

It is fortunate for the cauſe of truth, that the inquiries of the Select and Secret Committees of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, on *India* affairs, in the years 1772 and 1773, have already laid open and proved ſo much before the public, that it will require little trouble to eſtabliſh all the facts produced in the writer's *Conſiderations*, &c. beyond the power of cavil or miſrepreſentation to invalidate. In his preſent publication, therefore, the writer will paſs over no part of the miſconduct aſcribed to him, nor conceal the leaſt circumſtance, within his knowledge, that can in any degree contribute to the juſtification of his adverſaries. To every charge againſt himſelf he will give greater force than even *they* can expect; and rely, for his own vindication, on the plain evidence of ſuch truths as ſhall appear incontrovertible.

But it may be neceſſary here to premiſe, that the oppreſſions of which the writer has moſt reaſon to complain, and in which Mr. *Verelſt* acted as principal perſecutor, happened in the years 1767

and

and 1768, though in ſearch of pretences for accuſation, that gentleman has had recourſe to incidents which occurred under another government, in the year 1762; and by artfully miſrepreſenting, interweaving, and confounding diſtinct and diſtant tranſactions, has ſought to apologize for, or vindicate, the oppreſſions which ſix years afterwards were ſuffered from his own arbitrary acts.

In order, therefore, to enable the reader to judge rightly of the whole of his merits or demerits, while dependent on the *Engliſh Eaſt India* Company, the writer is under the neceſſity of recurring back to the firſt commencement of his connexions with them. And though the ſtruggles he has been engaged in, firſt with the Governor and Council in *Bengal*, and afterwards with the *Eaſt India* Directors in *London*, may, at firſt ſight, appear mere matters of private or party-contention, between him and the ruling ſervants of the Company; yet, upon the whole, it will be found, that the future ſafety and welfare of every ſubject, who now is, or hereafter may become an inhabitant of *Aſia*, under the ſanction of the *Britiſh* laws, are deeply involved in his cauſe, and muſt be greatly affected by its iſſue.

The plunder which the ſuperior ſervants of the Company acquired in the year 1757, upon making their firſt Nabob, *Meer Mahommed Jaffier Ally Khawn*, after the expulſion and murder of the Nabob *Serajah al Dowlah*, not only ſuddenly enabled many of them to return to *England* with princely fortunes, but introduced among them a ſpirit ſo impatient of * controul, as did at laſt induce the Court of Directors to diſmiſs ſeveral of thoſe remaining, from the ſervice. The unexpected reſignations of the ſuperior ſervants, the ſudden change in the ſituation of the Company, from a ſimple commercial, to a political and military community, and the rapid ſucceſſions which the vacancies ſo occaſioned brought on, whereby young and unexperienced men were ſuddenly advanced to the higheſt and moſt important offices, influenced the Court of *Eaſt India* Directors, in the year 1759, to depart from the regular uſage eſtabliſhed in their ſervice, of recruiting the number of their civil ſervants from youths at the ages of ſixteen, in the capacity of writers, to riſe by regular ſucceſſion.

* See a letter from Colonel *Robert Clive* and others, of the 29th *December* 1759; which occaſioned the diſmiſſion of the ſubſcribers, whom the Directors thereupon ordered to be ſent to *England* by the firſt ſhips. Journals of the Houſe of Commons, vol. XXXIII. page 902.

No plea, however, leſs forcible than that of abſolute neceſſity, could be juſtly urged in excuſe for ſuch a deviation from the eſtabliſhed cuſtom; as many evils, ſince experienced, have reſulted to the Company from the partial abuſes that followed the introduction of ſuperſeſſions; when their ſervants could find no ſecurity in their ſtations, from long and meritorious ſervices. But, without commenting on the propriety of the appointments ſo made at that period, the reader is to be informed, that in the year 1759, *William Bolts* petitioned the Company, in the uſual mode, to be admitted into their ſervice: on which, the Court of Directors were pleaſed to appoint him a factor, with nine other gentlemen, on the *Bengal*-eſtabliſhment. The motives aſſigned, by the Directors, for making of thoſe extraordinary appointments, will be ſeen in the following extract from their general letter to *Bengal*, dated *London*, the 23d *November* 1759, paragraph the XL.

" Obſerving that ſo many gentlemen of ſuperior ſtations on your " eſtabliſhment have reſigned our ſervice, and that others are pre- " paring to leave it, we have thought it expedient to engage " ſome perſons, well experienced in buſineſs, in ſome meaſure to " ſupply that defect; and have accordingly appointed them factors, " to be ranked, under our Preſidency at *Fort William*, in the fol- " lowing order, *viz.*

JOHN REED,
PETER DOWNES,
JA. PHILIP LYON,
WALTER STEVENS,
FRANCIS HARE,
JOSEPH JEKYLL,
JOHN WOOD,
HENRY HALL,
WILLIAM BODLE, and
WILLIAM BOLTS.

" And we do appoint them to take their ſtation on the liſt, " next under Mr. *Thomas French*; and that ſuch their rank be " conſtantly preſerved, by their being *at no time hereafter ſuper-* " *ſeded by any one who does now, or ſhall ſtand below them, without* " *our expreſs directions in that* * *behalf.*"

Before we proceed further, it may be neceſſary to give the reader ſome information of the ſtate and mode of carrying on the trade of the Company and their ſervants in *India*, at this period.

* The Directors who ſigned this letter were as follow: *Peter Godfrey, John Boyd, Henry Crabb Boulton, Charles Cutts, John Harriſon, George Dudley, John Browne, George Rooke, Bourchier Walton, Henry Hadley, George Steevens, Chriſtopher Baron, William Thornton, Fitz William Barrington, Richard Seward, Jacob Boſanquet, John Raymond, Frederick Pigou, S. Harriſon, Thomas Waters, Richard Smith.*

The

The old *East India* Company, when their trade in *Bengal* was very inconſiderable, had agreed with the Nabob, that their goods ſhould paſs duty-free within his dominions, upon the annual payment of 3000 rupees into his treaſury at *Hoogly*; which privilege was confirmed by the Emperor *Aurungzebe*. Upon the union of the two Companies, in the year 1702, the new United Company ſucceeded of courſe to the enjoyment of all the immunities poſſeſſed by the old one. The experience which they had had, before the year 1700, of the advantages to be acquired over an *Indian* rabble, by the regular military-diſcipline of *Europeans*, emboldened them to INSIST on the privilege of trading * cuſtom-free, as their right. At this early period it was not unuſual for the ſervants of the Company to † cover, under their duſtuck, the goods of the natives, and people of other countries, thereby defrauding the *Indian* government of its duties. Such practices occaſioned frequent

* *Extract of the Company's General Letter to* Fort William. *Dated the* 26*th* Feb. 1702-3.

" You muſt inſiſt upon it, as our right, that we be cuſtom-free in *Bengal*, *Patna*, and " *Oriſſa*, on the payment of 3000 rupees a year; that our duſtucks paſs in all places; " that our grant of *Calcutta* and adjacent towns be continued; and that all the other " privileges and advantages, obtained by the old Company formerly, or by them, or " the new Company of late, be enjoyed by this United Company, according to the true " meaning and full intent of the ſaid grants; and we would have the ſervants of each " Company do all they can to keep us in quiet enjoyment of the ſaid privileges, by re- " preſenting to the government, *you are now* THE ENGLISH NATIONAL COMPANY, " juſtly intitled to thoſe privileges."——See Reports of the Honourable Houſe of Commons 1772 and 1773, vol. III. page 477.

† *Extract of the Company's General Letter to* Fort William. *Dated the* 2*d of* March 1702-3.

" Our privileges in *Bengal*, of being cuſtom-free, except the yearly acknowledgment " of 3000 rupees, are ſo eſſential a property to this Company, and of ſuch great impor- " tance to us, that it requires the utmoſt ſteady care and fidelity to preſerve them. It " was an expenſive war, a ſtoppage of trade, and other accidents that retrieved them, " after they had been loſt chiefly by the feuds among our ſervants; *who, to juſtify* " *their own quarrels, expoſed the unfaithfulneſs of their chief to the government*; that he " covered the Moors and other nations goods *by our duſtucks*, and thereby defrauded " the Nabob and other Governors of their duties. To prevent the like evil for the " future, we order you to cauſe a common-ſeal, or *chop*, to be made, for the ſealing of " duſtucks and other public uſes, with ſuch words, or motto, as you ſhall judge moſt " proper; which ſeal, or *chop*, we would have remain in the cuſtody of the Secretary, " under the keys, or ſeals of our two chairmen, not to be uſed but in the preſence of " them both: and the Secretary muſt atteſt and regiſter all duſtucks which you grant, " and which we hereby direct *ſhall be granted for* Engliſh *people's goods, and no others.*" Ibid.

embroils

embroils with the Nabobs of *Bengal*, or their officers; and, on account of ſuch illicit trade, the Company were often obliged to pay conſiderable ſums of money, by way of fines; for as the trade of the Company and their ſervants increaſed to an unexpected degree, their trading duty-free occaſioned great loſs in duties to the Nabobs, and was very injurious to the native merchants. In order, therefore, to obtain a further ſanction for this indulgent privilege, in the year 1716, the embaſſy was ſent to *Dehly* which obtained the grand * Firmaun from the Mogul Emperor, *Furrukhſeer*, whereby the greateſt latitude was given to the Company, of trading duty-free, in all articles, throughout the whole dominions of the Mogul.

Although at this period all the *Engliſh* in *Bengal* traded under the ſanction of the Company's duſtuck, yet it had not been cuſtomary for them to trade in ſalt, or grain; and therefore when they firſt attempted ſo to do, in the year 1728, under privilege of their Firmaun, *duty-free*, it occaſioned † complaints to be ſent, by the government-officers at *Hoogly*, to the Court at *Murſhedabad*. And, as many diſputes had ariſen with the *Indian* government, from the licentious uſe made of the privileges granted to the Company; in order to prevent abuſes of the duſtuck-rights in future, the Directors did, from time to time, make various regulations of reſtraint; and at laſt, in the year 1748, they confined the uſe of them to their covenanted ſervants only, and forbad their being granted on any other occaſion, except for ſuch goods as were brought from the interior country by contractors, on their account, or for ſuch goods as any merchant ſhould buy of the Company, to be carried inland. In all other caſes, every perſon was to proſecute trade according to the known eſtabliſhed-laws of the country.

Such were clearly the ideas of the ſeveral Courts of Directors, from the firſt ‡ foundation of the Company. Trade was to be free,

* That the reader may judge for himſelf of the meaning of this Firmaun, we have given a copy of the *Perſian* original, (which we have procured ſince the publication of the firſt part of *Conſiderations*, &c.) with a ſtrictly literal tranſlation ſubjoined. See Appendix, Letter A. Number II. pages 6 and 11.

† See Appendix A. Number III. page 13.

‡ In further ſupport of this aſſertion, it may not be improper to recite the following extract from a book, intitled, "*An Impartial Vindication of the* Engliſh Eaſt India "*Company, from the unjuſt and ſlanderous imputations caſt upon them in a treatiſe, intitled, A Juſtification of the Directors of the* Netherlands Eaſt India *Company*; printed, "*London, anno* 1688, page 222, *viz.*

"Though we have owned before (as we can never diſown what is juſt in itſelf) that it is lawful for any nation, in *India*, to make excluſive contracts with any Prince or people

free, but abuſes were to be prevented. And in ſupport of the authorities already quoted on theſe points, it appears, by the whole of

people there, and to ſecure the performance of thoſe contracts by ſettling factories, or forts, in ſuch contracting *Indian* Princes dominions: yet ſo juſt and generous are the *Engliſh Eaſt India* Company, that they do not only allow refreſhments of all kinds to the *French, Dutch, Danes, Portugueze*, and all nations in amity with our Sovereign Lord the King, as well natives as *Europeans*; but alſo do allow them free liberty of all manner of trade and commerce, and in all kind of commodities, from, or to any port, or place in *India* whatſoever, as freely as the Company's own ſervants, or any *Engliſh* freeman can, or may: and alſo to reſide at *Bombay*, or *Fort St. George*, and to rent, or purchaſe houſes or lands there; and in all reſpects to have the ſame liberty and freedom for landing or ſhipping of goods, and ſelling or diſpoſing of them to whom they pleaſe, as the *Engliſh* themſelves have; and to be in the like capacity of being Aldermen or Burgeſſes of the corporation at *Fort St. George*, and *Bombay*, whatever faith or religion they are, or may be of, as the native *Engliſh* of thoſe places are. And this we have authority from the ſaid Company to publiſh and avow, in their names, to the whole world; to the intent that merchants of all nations may know with what liberty, ſecurity, and freedom they may reſort to both or either of thoſe places."

See alſo the following copies of the 37, 38, and 39th paragraphs of the Company's general letter to *Fort William*. Dated the 17th *June* 1748.

Par. 37. "And that there may be no doubt as to the perſons who are to enjoy the benefit of the duſtucks, it is hereby declared, that all goods imported and exported by the Company, or for their account, are to be ſent with duſtucks, and every merchant who contracts with the Company, ſhall be intitled to a duſtuck, for importing whatever he may have ſo contracted for; but not for the exportation of the ſame, unleſs, in caſe of damages, in order to ſend them back to the Aurungs, to have the goods new waſhed, or repaired. All merchants who buy goods of the Company to ſend into the country for ſale, ſhall be intitled to duſtucks for that purpoſe; for which goods only, beſides them, our immediate covenant-ſervants are to be intitled to duſtucks, and them under theſe regulations: but every perſon making a falſe declaration, on requeſting for a duſtuck, or importing or exporting goods with duſtucks otherwiſe than allowed as above, or proſtituting the duſtuck in any way whatſoever than it is aſked for, ſhall be immediately diſmiſſed from our ſervice, and ſent home: and every merchant dealing with the Company, who ſhall commit any fraud in the duſtuck, ſhall be excluded from having any further dealings with the Company, directly or indirectly; and all the goods imported, or exported in a fraudulent manner, ſhall be deemed unlicenced trade, and ſhall be confiſcated accordingly; one third to the Company, one third to the informer, and the remaining third to the Regiſter of the duſtucks.

Par. 38. And in caſes where the Company's affairs are involved with the country-government, by means of any abuſes of the duſtucks, the perſon who ſhall have committed ſuch abuſe ſhall be anſwerable for the ſame, to the country-government, out of their eſtates; or if a native, ſhall be delivered up to the country-government, as a perſon having forfeited the protection of the Company, if he do not make ſuch ſatisfaction as may immediately extricate the Company's affairs.

Par. 39. Every perſon dealing in *Bengal* ſalt, or any other reſerved, or prohibited commodity, *contrary to the known eſtabliſhed laws of the country*, ſhall be dealt with as if he, or they had committed a fraud in the duſtucks; but in caſe the country-government pretend, by any new laws or prohibitions, to encroach on the privileges granted to,

of the correſpondence of the Directors, down to the year 1764, that their ſentiments were in favour of the freedom of trade, and of diſcouraging all monopolies, except their own. In the year 1757, they gave expreſs directions to their reſpective Preſidencies, "That all perſons under the protection of the Company ſhould "have the liberty of reſorting to, and trading at all and any of the "Company's ſettlements in the *Eaſt Indies*, and at *all other places* "within the Company's limits, in as full, true, and extenſive a "manner as the reſt of the Company's ſervants, they paying the "duties, according to the uſual and cuſtomary rates eſtabliſhed at "ſuch places. And all perſons who ſhould reſort to, or trade, "either by themſelves or their agents, at *Fort St. George, Fort*

and hitherto enjoyed by the Company, and thoſe under our protection, *you are, at all events, to reſiſt ſuch unjuſt attempts*; and if you cannot procure relief by amicable means, you are to obtain it *by making uſe of all the force you have*, as we wiſh, on no account, to ſubmit to any innovation, which may, either at preſent or hereafter, diſgrace the Company, or be prejudicial to her intereſts." Vide Reports, vol. III. page 478.

Copy of the 43d paragraph of the Company's general letter to *Fort William*. Dated the 19th *February* 1762.

"By the directions we gave in our letter of the 1ſt *April* 1760, we meant, that the Nabob ſhould not be defrauded of his duties by any abuſe of the duſtuck, *nor private traders oppreſſed*; but as it appears, by your advices of the 16th *January* 1761, that the farming the duties of the Nabob, and the other methods we have pointed out, are not practicable, we muſt therefore acquieſce in their not being carried into execution. At the ſame time we repeat and enforce what we mentioned in our ſaid letter, that, at all events, the duſtucks are to be put upon ſuch a footing as to ſecure the government their duties, and enable the merchants to pay our cuſtoms." Ibid. page 481.

Mr. *Vanſittart*, who was as well acquainted with this matter as any man, in his anſwer to a pamphlet of the late Director, *Scrafton*, upon this ſubject, and particularly the trade in ſalt, concludes thus: "Many books and papers were loſt at the capture of "*Calcutta* in 1756, of which the Directors being adviſed, they formed, in 1758, a "new ſyſtem, or collection of laws, for the government of their ſervants in *Bengal*; "among which laws, nothing is mentioned on the ſubject of the inland-trade. Upon "the whole, I muſt repeat, that there was not, according to the beſt of my knowledge, "any expreſs order againſt this trade, until the 8th *February* 1764. It was treated in "general as illicit, as not being a Firmaun-privilege, and *under that to be carried "on cuſtom-free*; but it ſeemed always left open for the inhabitants reſiding under the "Company's protection to deal in, equally with the other inhabitants of the country, "under the Nabob's paſs, and paying his duties.

"The orders of the 8th *February* 1764, were of very ſhort duration; for two "months after their arrival came an explanation, which brought the matter back to the "footing juſt mentioned. The agents in *Bengal* were informed, as the Director ſays, "that "Lord *Clive* and the Committee would have powers to regulate the inland-"trade;" and he adds, "meaning to regulate it ſo, that it ſhould neither be oppreſ-"ſive to the natives, nor hurtful to the Nabob's revenue."——See a letter to the Proprietors of *Eaſt India* Stock, from *Henry Vanſittart*, printed for *J. Newbery* 1767, pages 121 and 122.

William

"*William*, or *Bombay*, *and their reſpective dependencies*, were to buy "and ſell publicly or privately, as they themſelves ſhould chooſe, "dealing freely, and without reſtraint, with whomſoever they "ſhould think proper: and if, contrary to this article, they ſhould "be oppreſſed, or injured by any perſon whatſoever, ſuch perſon "or perſons, let their rank be what it might, ſhould incur the "higheſt diſpleaſure and reſentment of the Court."

By the covenants which *William Balts* entered into with the Company, in the year 1759, he was authorized to trade in any port, or place, within the limits of their charter; ſubject to ſuch lawful regulations and limitations as the Court of Directors had already eſtabliſhed, or might from time to time, thereafter, direct and appoint. With reſpect to trade, therefore, he was undoubtedly to be allowed the ſame privileges as every other perſon reſiding under the protection of the *Britiſh* laws; and by the indulgent order of the Court of Directors, as hath already been ſhewn, he was not to be ſuperſeded without their expreſs directions. Admitting then, that the Directors even poſſeſſed a right to withdraw their part of the expreſs compact under which he went out to *India*, his right to trade, under the eſtabliſhed legal limitations, yet from the authorities already produced, it will evidently follow, that he could not be legally deprived of that right, nor ſuperſeded, unleſs for reaſonable cauſe, and by the expreſs order of thirteen or more of the *Eaſt India* Directors; with whom he had covenanted on behalf of the Company.

In conſequence of his appointment, and under theſe conditions, the writer proceeded to *Bengal*, where, on his arrival, he firſt applied himſelf wholly to the acquiſition of the *Bengal* dialect; which, though the moſt uſeful of any, either in matters of revenue or commerce in *Bengal*, yet being the ſpeech of the inferior orders of people in that country, he found had been univerſally neglected by the ſervants of the Company, for the *Hindoſtan*; a dialect introduced with mahommedaniſm, and which the ſuperior natives, in their intercourſes with the *Moguls*, their former, and the *Europeans*, their preſent maſters, now moſtly affect to ſpeak.

Being ſucceſsful in his endeavours, he was enabled, by this acquiſition, to reap many benefits in his intercourſe and dealings with the natives. He had likewiſe an advantage over many of the Company's ſervants, in having been regularly bred to buſineſs, almoſt from his childhood, in a merchant's accompting-houſe.

Theſe advantages, with an habitual turn to ſedulous application, were, in a ſhort time after his arrival, the means of introducing him into a partnerſhip, on equal terms, with Mr. *John Johnſtone* and Mr. *William Hay*, two gentlemen of the Council at *Calcutta*: and the ſeveral employments to which he had been appointed, by the favour of the then * Governor and Council, requiring his continuance in *Calcutta*; he there, of courſe, became the acting partner in the affairs of *Johnſtone*, *Hay*, and *Bolts*, at a time when the trade of *Bengal* flouriſhed under a Nabob who was thought too independent. Indeed the Nabob *Goſſim Ally Khawn* had much at heart the reſtraining of the trade of the Company and their ſervants; who were equally determined on ſupporting thoſe immunities which they claimed as their rights, under the Firmaun of the Emperor *Furrukhſeer*; in which they had been encouraged by the † Directors,

* The Governor and Council had been pleaſed to entruſt him, at one and the ſame time, with the different offices of Secretary, Accomptant, and Treaſurer to the Committee of new lands, inſtituted by Mr. *Vanſittart*; and when his partner, Mr. *Hay*, was ſent with Mr. *Amyatt* on the deputation to *Mongheer*, he was further entruſted with Mr. *Hay*'s department in that Committee, *viz.* the Collectorſhip of the province of *Mágurah*.

Copy of the 71ſt Paragraph of the Company's General Letter to *Bengal*. Dated the 9th of *March* 1763.

"From a view of the proceedings of the Committee of new lands, we have great reaſon to be ſatisfied with their cloſe attention to this branch of the ſervice. The manner of keeping thoſe accounts is as we would have it; and your intention of following our directions, to let the lands in ſmaller lots, when the preſent leaſes expire, will, we flatter ourſelves, contribute greatly to the increaſe of the revenues."

(Signed) *George Dudley*, *G. Steevens*, *Tho. Rous*,
Tho. Waters, *John Manſhip*, *Richard Warner*,
Chriſt. Baron, *Charles Gough*, *William Webber*,
John Dorrien, *Richard Seward*, *Robert Burrow*,
John Browne, *F. W. Barrington*, *Henry Savage*,
Henry Hadley, *Timothy Tullie*, *William Thornton*.

In the year 1761, even Mr. *Vereſt* thought ſo favourably of the writer, that he wrote from *Chittigong* in the ſtrongeſt terms in his favour, recommending him to be ſent up in Council to that factory.

† Copy of the 66th and 67th Paragraphs of the Company's General Letter to *Bengal*. Dated the 25th of *March* 1757.

Par. 66. "It is with much concern we obſerve, in your detail of tranſactions with the country-government, that every circumſtance and opportunity affords pretenſions for exactions. It is impoſſible for us to mark out any preciſe rules for your conduct in general. We can only ſay, that you are to be zealous in preſerving our Firmaun rights

tors, even to the giving of protection to the natives, for fear of ſubjecting the *Engliſh* flag to contempt.

It ſurely cannot be thought extraordinary, that a young man, juſt come into the country, ſhould, on this ſubject, adopt the ſentiments of all the oldeſt and moſt reſpectable ſervants of the Company; who were of opinion, that, by the terms of the *Firmaun*, the Company and their ſervants had a right to trade duty-free, in every article, without diſtinction of *inland-trade*, or foreign exportation. At a ſubſequent period, when this queſtion was ſolemnly debated in Council, each member finally giving his opinion in writing, Meſſrs. * *Vanſittart* and *Haſtings*, the Nabob's particular friends, gave the only two voices, out of twelve, againſt the freedom then decided to be a right.

It was, however, more a conteſt for power and independance than for the value of the duties, that influenced the conduct of the Nabob *Meer Coſſim*, in all his diſputes, at this period, with the Governor and Council. Beſides, he had no confidence in any of the remaining members of the board at *Calcutta*, except Mr. *Vanſittart* and Mr. *Haſtings*; who had been principally inſtrumental in raiſing him to the *Muſnud*, and whoſe † private trade he protected.

and privileges; and when any ſums of money are demanded, or any oppreſſions endeavoured to be laid on our trade, or otherwiſe, that you will obviate or ſettle them upon the beſt terms you can; in doing which our great dependance muſt be placed in your ſenſe and care.

Par. 67. Among many other unreaſonable demands, that made upon you for the *Cotmah*'s effects is of a very pernicious nature, as it tends to *render our protection of no effect*, and ſubjecting the *Engliſh* flag to contempt. We find this affair was not brought to an iſſue upon the coming away of your laſt advices; but we hope your ſteadineſs and reſolution will diſappoint *Hakeembeg* in his oppreſſive and lucrative views, and confirm the rich natives who reſide in the Company's limits, that their perſons and effects will be ſecure."

* Vide *Vanſittart*'s Narrative, vol. II. pages 316 to 395.

† See the evidence given by *Stanlake Batſon*, Eſq; before the Select Committee of the Honourable Houſe of Commons. Reports, vol. III. page 301.——" By one letter " (of the Nabob *Coſſim Ally Khawn*'s) which fell into the hands of the *Engliſh*, it ap- " peared, that the Nabob had ordered the man to whom it was addreſſed, to ſtop the " *Engliſh* in their trade, all but his friends Meſſrs. *Vanſittart* and *Haſtings*;—That the " ſaid letter ought to be upon the conſultations; and he was ſure that the words " all " but my friends *Vanſittart* and *Haſtings*," or to that purpoſe, were in the letter " read at the board, and that the order was to ſtop the trade." See alſo the ſame Reports, page 342. Extract of the Nabob *Coſſim Ally Khawn*'s letter to *Mahommed Ally*, the *Naib* of *Dacca*.——" The Governor writes to me, that you interrupt his own " gomaſtah. Notwithſtanding, in the paper of regulations, there is no diſtinction of " private or public, yet as the Governor is my friend, I accordingly write to you, not " to impede the gomaſtah of his private trade, that may have with him either the Go- " vernor's or Company's duſtuck."

Meſſrs. *Johnſtone* and *Hay* having diſapproved of the revolution in *Meer Coſſim*'s favour, and on many occaſions taken a deciſive part in Council againſt him, every poſſible * obſtruction was artfully contrived to the proſecution of the buſineſs of their partnerſhip. An inferior officer of the Nabob's, a Fowzdar in the province of *Purnea*, without any reaſonable cauſe, had actually prohibited the inhabitants, under ſevere penalties, from buying, ſelling to, or having any dealings with the agents of *Johnſtone*, *Hay*, and *Bolts*; which unwarrantable obſtruction, in the month of *November* 1762, induced the partners to write a letter on the ſubject to that officer.

As the ſhare which the writer had in that tranſaction appears to be one of Governor *Vereſt*'s moſt weighty accuſations of him, in apology for his own indefenſible conduct in the year 1768, it becomes neceſſary to lay the whole tranſaction before the public.

In the narration of theſe old affairs, the writer is unavoidably forced, by Mr. *Vereſt*, more frequently than he could wiſh, to diſturb the venerable aſhes of the late Mr. *Vanſittart*, than whom, with all his faults (from which no man is exempt) the Company never had, nor probably ever will have, a leſs exceptionable Governor, or a more worthy man in their ſervice.

Mr. *Vanſittart*, perhaps not leſs actuated by a jealouſy too frequent between competitors in trade, than offended at all interference, by correſpondence, with the officers of the Nabob's government, as an encroachment on what he deemed his own prerogative; complained greatly to the Council at *Calcutta* of this letter, written by the partners *Johnſtone*, *Hay*, and *Bolts*, to the Fowzdar of *Purnea*. Mr. *Vanſittart*'s complaint was as follows:

* See the evidence of General *John Carnac*, in the ſame Reports, page 302. "That "thoſe in the *Engliſh* adminiſtration, who were the friends of *Coſſim Ally Khanun*, took "great pains to have it repreſented, that what was called the *inland trade* was the "ſource of our diſagreement with him, and were very induſtrious in proving that trade "illegal." And again——"That the Nabob had been induſtriouſly taught to believe, "that every *Engliſhman* who did not approve of the revolution was hoſtile to him, and "from thence he had been guilty of ſeveral inſtances of diſreſpect to them."——How far the evidence here given may have been influenced by the recollection of old party-diſputes, is left to the conſideration of the reader. Candour however requires, that we ſhould give him a caution thereon: and to guide his judgment in the matter, we recommend to his peruſal a letter from Major *Carnac* to the Preſident and Council at *Calcutta*, dated the 24th of *December* 1764, with Mr. *Vanſittart*'s anſwer, as they ſtand on the conſultations of the 11th *December*, 1766; which are inſerted in our Appendix, Letter A. Number III.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from Governor Vansittart *to the Council at* Calcutta. *Dated* Mongheer, *the* 15*th* December 1762.

* "Inclosed I send for your perusal two *Persian* letters, delivered to me by the Nabob, with their translations. One from Mr. *Cartier* to *Mahommed Ally*, the Collector of the *Dacca* districts, which, if I understand right (for the expressions are rather obscure) is wrote in a very improper stile, and tends to encourage and promote those evils which we have taken so much pains to remedy, I mean a jealousy and mistrust between us and the Nabob. I request you will be pleased to call on Mr. *Cartier* for an explanation of his meaning, and give him such a caution on the occasion as to you shall seem necessary.

"The other, from Messrs. *Johnstone*, *Hay*, and *Bolts* to *Sheer Ally Khawn*, Fowzdar of *Purnea*, indorsed by Mr. *Bolts* in *English*, and written I imagine by him, in the name of the partnership. Whoever reads this letter, must naturally conclude no other government subsisted amongst us, since it was left to Mr. *Bolts* to assert the privileges of the Firmaun, and vindicate, in the name of the *English*, the freedom of the Company's dustuck. Such notions, if propagated in the country, must needs be prejudicial to the Company's affairs, by weakening their government; and it is for this reason the Company have forbid letters to be written to the country-government by any person excepting the President, or with his approbation. I never refused to apply for redress for any grievance that the gentlemen in the service, and all other inhabitants of the settlement, have applied to me about; and in case of my illness, or absence, Mr. *Amyatt* was ready to give them the same assistance. I must therefore recommend to you to inflict such censure, or punishment on Mr. *Bolts*, as shall seem to you necessary, for preventing such irregularities in future. I could wish also, that it were made a rule for the chiefs of the subordinate factories, and all others, when they write letters to the country-government, to sign them, that, in case of their being produced afterwards, they may be known to be authentic."

Mr. *Vansittart*'s translation of this offensive letter is as follows:

* See *Vansittart*'s Narrative, vol. II. page 145.

Translation.

Tranſlation of a Perſian *Letter from Meſſrs.* Johnſtone, Hay, *and* Bolts, *to* Meer Sheer Ally Khawn, *Fowzdar of* Purnea.

* " Our gomaſtah, *Ramchurn-daſs*, being gone into thoſe parts, " meets with obſtruction from you, in whatever buſineſs he un- " dertakes; moreover, you have publiſhed a prohibition to this " effect: That whoever ſhall have any dealings with the *Engliſh*, " you will ſeize his houſe, and lay a fine upon him. In this man- " ner you have prohibited the people under your juriſdiction. We " were ſurprized at hearing of this affair, becauſe the royal Fir- " maun, which the *Engliſh* nation is poſſeſſed of, is violated by this " proceeding. But the *Engliſh* will by no means ſuffer, with " patience, their Firmaun to be broke through; we therefore ex- " pect that, upon the receipt of this letter, you will take off the " order you have given to the *Ryots*, and in caſe of your not doing " it, we will certainly write to the Nabob, in the name of the " *Engliſh*, and ſend for ſuch orders from him, that you ſhall reſtore " fully and entirely whatever loſs the *Engliſh* have ſuſtained, or " ſhall ſuſtain by this obſtruction; and that you ſhall repent hav- " ing thus interrupted our buſineſs in deſpite of the royal Fir- " maun. After reading this letter, we are perſuaded you will " deſiſt from interrupting it, will act agreeably to the rules of " friendſhip, and ſo that your amity may appear; and will by no " means ſtop the Company's duſtuck."

The writer's juſtification in this tranſaction will appear from the following letter, wrote to the Council at *Calcutta*, and the proceedings of the board on that occaſion.

† *Copy of a Letter from Meſſrs.* John Johnſtone *and* William Hay *to the Council. Dated the* 14*th* January 1763.

" We have received the copy of a letter, wrote by the Preſident " to the board, complaining of Mr. *Bolts*'s conduct in writing a " letter in the name of Meſſrs. *Johnſtone*, *Hay*, and *Bolts*, to the " *Purnea* Fowzdar, repreſenting the grievances and oppreſſions " that our gomaſtahs met with, in tranſacting our buſineſs in that

* *Vanſittart*'s Narrative, vol. II. page 149. The reader will pleaſe to obſerve, that there was a more juſt and favourable tranſlation of this letter made by Mr. *Gulſton* the Company's *Perſian* tranſlator, laid before the board; but we cannot exhibit it for want of a copy.

† *Vanſittart*'s Narr. vol. II. page 209.

" country,

" country, and aſſerting the privileges of the Firmaun; and at the
" ſame time recommending to you, to inflict a cenſure, or puniſh-
" ment, on Mr. *Bolts* for the ſame. We therefore think it neceſ-
" ſary, and our duty to inform you, gentlemen, that Mr. *Vanſit-*
" *tart*, when he caſt the whole of that tranſaction on Mr. *Bolts*,
" did it not with any good reaſon, as we were both acquainted
" with the contents of that letter, and of its being ſent; and we
" cannot help thinking, from the terms of his letter, that it was
" wrote with no other deſign than to ſhew how blameable we were
" in his eyes, and how we ought to be treated: but we hope you,
" gentlemen, will judge otherwiſe. We are ſo far from thinking
" with the Preſident, that it is criminal to aſſert the privilege
" of the Firmaun, that we think every one that does not, little
" deſerves the benefit of it; and that its being aſſerted in private
" letters, can never weaken the Company's government, or prove
" prejudicial to their true intereſt.

" The juſtneſs of our gomaſtah's complaints, to which we refer,
" and which gave occaſion to our letter to *Sheer Ally Khawn*, will
" appear by his anſwer; in which he acknowledges, that, by the
" Nabob's orders, our trade ſhall be entirely confined to that of
" ready-money purchaſes, contrary to the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms
" throughout the country, and which muſt of conſequence put a
" ſtop to all trade, or fetter it in a manner unknown before, in
" the worſt of times in *Bengal*.

" Our letter, as tranſlated by Mr. *Gulſton*, which we now lay
" before the board, we hope will appear unexceptionable; for
" when it is ſaid, in caſe we do not find an end was put to the
" oppreſſions which we complained of, that we would make ap-
" plication to the Nabob, for redreſs for ourſelves and others, it is
" not to be imagined, that we ſhould have procured this applica-
" tion to the Nabob otherwiſe than from your board; and this
" was our intention. But Mr. *Vanſittart* is of a different opinion,
" and takes great exception at its being ſaid to be done in the
" *Engliſh* name, and redreſs obtained for others. Had he thought
" proper to have mentioned it to either of the partners reſiding in
" *Calcutta*, he might have been ſatisfied, that there was no bad
" deſign in uſing the word others, but that it was introduced
" entirely by miſtake; and we have reaſon to think, Mr. *Vanſit-*
" *tart* was not unacquainted with the contents of that letter before
" he left *Calcutta*, as our gomaſtah wrote us, after the receipt of
" the letter, the Fowzdar would not ſend us his anſwer till it was

" approved

" approved of by the Preſident, for which purpoſe it was ſent by " the Fowzdar, with one of his own, to *Calcutta*; and we did " not receive the anſwer till ſome days after Mr. *Vanſittart*'s de- " parture from *Calcutta*.

" The unwillingneſs the Preſident had to believe complaints of " this nature, and more particularly that they were owing to the " Nabob's orders, induced us to addreſs *Sheer Ally Khawn* in the " manner we did, to ſee whether he would anſwer us, as he did " our gomaſtah; and on this to have a foundation for applying to " your honourable board for redreſs. You will pleaſe to remark, " that *Sheer Ally Khawn* repreſents *dadney* advanced for goods, as " money lent out at intereſt, which latter buſineſs our gomaſtahs " never carried on; and we cannot conceive, that the miſbeha- " viour of a few gomaſtahs, in that, or any other way, when " proved, joined to the many groundleſs complaints of the go- " vernment, ſhould be eſteemed ſufficient cauſe for the Nabob to " uſurp, or we to give up the privileges of the *Engliſh* Company " in this country; when, at the ſame time, ſo many well-ground- " ed cauſes of complaint have been given by the ſervants of the " Nabob, to thoſe who, by the Company's indulgence, have the " privilege of duſtucks (and of courſe are exempt from all duties) " and their protection. That theſe privileges, for ſeveral months, " have been greatly infringed in ſome parts, and entirely taken " away in others, by the country-government, is what we, as well " as moſt *Engliſh* traders, *except the Preſident*, have ſeverely felt in " our private fortunes.

" We have received a letter from our agent, Mr. *Robinſon* at " *Gualparah*, informing us of the difficulties he laboured under, " from the obſtacles thrown in the way of our trade, and the dan- " ger with which he was threatened by the Fowzdar of *Ranga-* " *matty*, which he repreſented as greatly fomented and increaſed " by the arrival and practices of one *Gongaram Metre*, who was " come there in *Auguſt*, and aſſumed to himſelf, on the ſtrength " of his perwânah from the Governor, the office of inquiſitor and " ſupervifor of the agents of the *Engliſh*, &c. in thoſe parts. The " perwânah, extracts of Mr. *Robinſon*'s letter, *Gongaram Metre*'s " letter to Mr. *Teixeira*, and the letter from the *Rangamatty* Fowz- " dar to Mr. *Robinſon*, are ſubmitted to your conſideration. Some " of theſe were forwarded to the Governor, requeſting the neceſ- " ſary redreſs; in anſwer, we have received, through him, a per- " wânah from the Nabob to the Fowzdar of *Rangamatty*, as *per*

" ſubjoined tranſlation, directing him not to obſtruct our trade, or
" collect duties on goods provided for exportation, or that come
" from *Calcutta* with a duſtuck, but to levy the uſual duties on
" other goods, and to ſend to himſelf and the Preſident, an ac-
" count of the rates according to which they pay. This, we
" humbly conceive, is contrary to the articles of our treaty with
" the Nabob, and reduces us again to thoſe privileges we enjoyed
" before the time of *Meer Jaffier Khawn*, and which we imagine
" was not the ſentiments of the majority of the board at the time
" the Preſident left it. By this perwânah, however, we have not
" got the leaſt ſatisfaction for the inſults and loſſes we have ſuſ-
" tained, by obſtructing our trade, both inland and *Calcutta*; but,
" on the contrary, it is left to the Fowzdar's direction, who has
" been guilty of the violences and loſſes we complained of, to fix
" the rates of the duties on the different articles of inland-trade, on
" which, to the beſt of our knowledge, the Company's ſervants
" that have traded there ſince the treaty with *Jaffier Ally Khawn*,
" never yet paid any, and of courſe there could be no cuſtom to
" follow. This ſcheme, ſhould it take place, would reduce us
" to a footing with (if not below) the traders of the country, as
" is the wiſh of the Governor's agent in that part, probably in the
" imagination, that this may be a means of throwing the whole
" trade into their hands, by the extraordinary intereſt Mr. *Vanſit-*
" *tart* has with the Nabob.

" Whatever opinion the Preſident may entertain of Mr. *Cartier*,
" or Mr. * *Chevalier*, they have had the happineſs hitherto to be
" eſteemed by every body that knows them. The gentleman we
" ſent up, Mr. *Robinſon*, had the permiſſion and approbation of
" the board; we think, therefore, if ſuch grievances as were
" alleged againſt *Engliſh* agents and gomaſtahs, really exiſted in
" thoſe parts, the ſubjecting them to the ſcrutiny and ſuperviſal of
" black dependants, of whatever denomination, without the know-
" ledge of the board, was an indignity offered to it, to us, and to
" every gentleman concerned; and, however the propagating of
" ſuch notions in this country may ſerve to ſtrengthen the hands
" of the government, we humbly conceive it can give but a very
" odd opinion of the other members to whom it is jointly en-
" truſted.

* Monſ. *Chevalier* had been agent at *Gualparah*, to whom Mr. *Robinſon* ſucceeded. That gentleman has for ſome years ſince been Governor of the *French* ſettlements in *Bengal*.

"In the courſe of the buſineſs we have carried on, we have "met with the greateſt impediments in almoſt all parts, but in par- "ticular in *Purnea*, *Rungpoor*, and the diſtricts of *Gualparah* and "*Rangamatty*, from the different Fowzdars, Zemindars, Mr. "* *Moore*, *Gongaram Metre*, &c. the accounts of which, as we "have received them from our agents, we now lay before you, "and hope you will procure for us that ſatisfaction and redreſs "which we have hitherto been unable to obtain."

At a Conſultation held the 17th of *January* 1763.

† "Meſſrs. *Johnſtone* and *Hay* ſend in a letter to the board, "regarding the *Perſian* letter which they wrote to *Sheer Ally* "*Khawn*, the Fowzdar of *Purnea*, alſo copies and extracts of ſun- "dry letters and papers relative thereto.

"The ſame being now read, *the board are of opinion, that they* "*ſufficiently account for, and vindicate thoſe gentlemen in that tranſ-* "*action.*"

Upon this deciſion of the Council on the ſubject of this letter, Mr. *Vanſittart*, at a Conſultation held on the 1ſt *February* 1763, entered a long minute, wherein he concludes the ſubject in the following words:

‡ "As you have been pleaſed to give it as your opinion, that "Meſſrs. *Johnſtone*, *Hay*, and *Bolts*, did properly in writing a letter "to *Sheer Ally*, the Fowzdar of *Purnea*, in their own name, inſtead "of applying to the Preſident, of courſe, every other merchant "will take the ſame authority.

"I am by no means ſorry to be relieved from the trouble of "ſuch applications; yet I think it my duty to give it as my opi- "nion, that this entire *levelling and equality* will not be for the "good of the Company's affairs, nor the benefit of ſociety, and "therefore to declare my diſapprobation.

"One reaſon Meſſrs. *Johnſtone* and *Hay* give for writing this let- "ter deſerves to be taken notice of, *an unwillingneſs in the Preſident* "*to believe complaints of this nature.* I requeſt the board will call "on them, to produce any one inſtance where I have either re- "fuſed or delayed to give them, or any other merchant, every "aſſiſtance they have aſked of me, in the carrying on of their pri-

* An agent of Mr. *Vanſittart*'s.
† *Vanſittart*'s Narrative, vol. II. page 232.
‡ Ibid. page 250.

" vate buſineſs, or in obtaining redreſs for their grievances. In " ſhort, gentlemen, their letter throughout is ſo injurious to me as " a gentleman, to ſay nothing of my ſtation, that I ſhould apply " to you for juſtice againſt them, did I not perceive, that inſtead " of ſhewing your diſpleaſure at ſuch behaviour, *you have thought* " *proper to give it the ſanction of your approbation.* I refer, there- " fore, to the honourable the Court of Directors, who, I am per- " ſuaded, will do me juſtice."

Mr. *Vanſittart*'s intereſt, at this time, with the *leading Directors* in *England*, was ſuperior to that of the whole Council in *Bengal*. And although, at a ſubſequent period, the Court were as ready to condemn Mr. *Vanſittart*'s conduct on any point, yet, upon that occaſion, his reference of the above matter to *England*, procured againſt the writer, the reprimand referred to by Mr. *Vereſt*, from the ſame Court of Directors, who alſo entirely approved of the revolution in favour of *Meer Coſſim Ally Khawn*, and recommended to their ſervants in * *Bengal*, not to reſtore *Meer Jaffier*, on account of his " incapacity, cruelty, and perfidy," thereby giving Mr. *Vanſittart* a complete victory.

The paragraph of the general letter of the 8th *February* 1764, wherein the writer was thus reprimanded, was as follows:

Par. VII. " The conduct and behaviour of Mr. *William Bolts*, " a factor, falling next under our conſideration, they appear, ſo " far as he was connected with Meſſrs. *Johnſtone* and *Hay*, to be " very improper; eſpecially in joining with them in an audacious " and impertinent letter to the Fowzdar of *Purnea*, as it ſtands " on your conſultations of the 27th *December* 1762, and for which " the Preſident recommended it to the Council to paſs ſome cen- " ſure upon him. He appears, likewiſe, to have been *guilty of* " *irregular practices, in reſpect to carrying on his private trade*: let " him be called into Council, and reprimanded according to his " deſerts; and inform him, if his conduct is not more ſatisfactory " for the future, we ſhall diſmiſs him from the ſervice."

The only matter upon record, before the Directors, againſt the writer, was what Mr. *Vanſittart* had ſaid on the ſubject of the letter written by *Johnſtone*, *Hay*, and *Bolts* to the Fowzdar of *Purnea*; upon which, notwithſtanding the writer's juſtification by the Council of *Calcutta*, yet, as a ſervant of the Company, the Directors

* See a letter from the Directors to Mr. *Vanſittart*; dated the 9th *February* 1764. Appendix A. Number VI.

might think themſelves at liberty to pronounce any ſentence they pleaſed againſt him.

But there was not even the ſhadow of a ſingle fact or circumſtance, before the Court, to authorize the injurious reflection, that the writer "had been guilty of irregular practices in carrying on "his private trade."

And though we may give a latitude to Directors, to pronounce, in their directorial capacities, any ſentence, or opinion whatever, upon the conduct of their ſervants, however irregular, unjuſt, or againſt their own conviction, yet decency, if not a regard for the dignity and duties of their ſtations, ſhould have taught them to refrain from publicly ſetting their hands to an aſſertion that was totally void of truth.

After the reſtoration of *Meer Jaffier Ally Khawn*, a perfect harmony ſubſiſted in the Council at *Calcutta*, and when the letter from the Court of Directors, of the 8th *February* 1764, was received in *Bengal*, the writer was *never called before the Council, or reprimanded.* It is hard to ſay, whether that part of the ceremony was diſpenſed with by Mr. *Vanſittart*, from a diſinclination to revive unexiſting animoſities, or from the ſhame which his ingenuous mind might then feel for the weak conduct of the Directors. But indeed, at that time, the writer had the happineſs of being on a very friendly footing, not only with the Governor, but likewiſe with every member of the Council, who not long afterwards did him the juſtice to appoint him, according to his rank in the ſervice, to a ſtation of truſt and honour.

It muſt here be remarked, that at this time, all the ſuperior ſervants of the Company * correſponded with the Nabob's officers, on their own buſineſs, or matters of compliment, whenever they thought proper; nor could that be deemed criminal, ſo long as they refrained from interfering with the politics of the country, to the prejudice of the Company. Upon the whole then of this firſt † charge of Mr. *Verelſt*'s, it muſt inconteſtibly appear, that if the writer, when a young man, and of ſhort ſtanding in the ſervice, did join with his partners in writing the letter in queſtion, to an inferior officer under the *Indian* government, it was in ſupport of

* In the courſe of this work, the reader will be ſhown the pernicious conſequences reſulting to the Company's affairs, from the abſurd cuſtom of confining all correſpondence with the officers of the black government, on any ſubject whatever, to the Preſident of *Calcutta* only.

† *Verelſt*'s View, &c. page 5.

what

what he had always been made to conſider as the ſtipulated right of the Company and its ſervants, and was in fact, in the then ſtate of *Bengal*, no more criminal than a merchant in this country writing to check a cuſtom-houſe officer who had exceeded his duty. But the reader will have perceived, that this affair, otherwiſe very trivial in its nature, was made a handle of, more as a convenient matter of diſpute between contending parties, than any real offence in the writer; who, after all, ſtood fully vindicated by his ſuperiors, for the ſmall ſhare he had in this tranſaction. Judge then, reader, of the candour and veracity of Mr. *Vereliſt*, when, upon ſuch facts, he makes the following reflection: * "Among the *private perſons* "who uſurped the office of their ſuperiors, Mr. *Bolts* was very "early diſtinguiſhed, who wrote, *in his own name*, to the Fowzdar "of *Purnea*, threatening the Nabob's officers with the effect of "the *Engliſh* power," and who, in a note upon this tranſaction of the year 1762, has alſo the confidence to aſſert before the public, that † "one of the many reaſons for Mr. *Bolts*'s being ſent to *England*, "though very low in the ſervice, was his arrogating to himſelf "this eſtabliſhed authority of a Governor," although the writer was not forcibly ſent to *England* until ſix years after this tranſaction, in conſequence of a reſolution ‡ taken on the 5th *November* 1767, by the Board of Council, at which this ſame Mr. *Vereliſt* preſided as Governor.

* *Vereliſt*'s View, *&c.* page 38. † Ibid. page 39.
‡ Appendix F. page 478.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

FURTHER REFUTATIONS of MR. VERELST's Publication; and ACCOUNTS of PROCEEDINGS both in EUROPE and ASIA: with REMARKS thereon.

TOWARDS the concluſion of the Company's war with the Nabob of *Owd*, *Sujah al Dowlah*, in the year 1764, Governor *Vanſittart* and his Council reſerved, from among the conquered provinces, the Zemindary of the *Rajah Bulwantſing* to the government of the Company, and eſtabliſhed a factory at *Banáras*, the capital city thereof. To this new ſettlement they appointed a Chief and Council, for the purpoſes of collecting the revenues, extending the ſales of woollens and other *Britiſh* commodities imported by the Company, as well as for other political reaſons, which in the then ſtate of the Company's affairs concurred for rendering that eſtabliſhment a wiſe and judicious meaſure.

The Governor and Council of *Bengal*, during Mr. *Vanſittart*'s government, had, on all occaſions, been very attentive to the preſervation of regular ſucceſſion to employments of honour and emolument in the Company's ſervice, ever avoiding, as much as poſſible, all injurious ſuperſeſſions in preferment; and ſo regardful were they, at that time, of the rights of regular advancement in the ſervice, that no poſt was given to a junior ſervant, till his ſuperior had, by the tacit permiſſion of the board, declined the acceptance of it. According to this rule of conduct, when thoſe appointments to *Banáras* were under conſideration at the board, the writer was required to declare, whether he choſe going to *Banáras* as ſecond in Council, or to *Burdwan*. On his acceptance of the former, he was accordingly appointed ſecond, under Mr. *Randolph Marriott*, chief, with Mr. *John Graham* third in Council, and Mr. *William Marriott*, a writer, as aſſiſtant, at this new-eſtabliſhed factory.

The Company having been greatly alarmed in *England*, on receiving news of war being commenced with the Nabob *Coſſim Ally Khawn*, had, in the month of *May* 1764, appointed the Right Honourable *Robert* Lord *Clive* Preſident, or Governor, with Mr. *William Brightwell Sumner*, Brigadier General *John Carnac*, Meſſrs. *Harry*

Harry Verelſt and *Francis Sykes*, a Select Committee, for the reſtoration and eſtabliſhment of peace and tranquillity in *Bengal*. And in order more effectually to attain ſuch deſirable ends, they were pleaſed to give the noble Lord, and his Committee, full * powers, to purſue whatever means they ſhould think proper; with inſtructions, however, to conſult the Council at large in all caſes, where it could be done conveniently, although the power of finally determining was to remain with that Committee.

At the time when this extraordinary and unconſtitutional appointment was made, there were not wanting, among the proprietors of *Eaſt India* ſtock, men who foreſaw the evils that were likely to reſult from it, and who thought it their duty to † forewarn the Directors thereof. Their prophetic repreſentations had then, however, no effect; although events have ſince ſo far verified, nay ſurpaſſed what they wiſely foretold, that it would now be difficult to find one unprejudiced and well informed *Eaſt India* proprietor who will not *feelingly* aſſent to our opinion, that to the injudicious appointment of that Select Committee are to be originally aſcribed all the evils that have ſince befallen the Company.

When the noble Lord with his Committee-men arrived in *India*, they found ‡ "*the Company's affairs in a very flouriſhing condition*; "Sujah al Dowlah *beat from his dominions, and it was ſcarcely hyper-* "*bole to ſay, to-morrow the whole Mogul Empire is in our power.*" Indeed peace and tranquillity had been perfectly re-eſtabliſhed in *Bengal*, and the Company's buſineſs was carried on with all becoming unanimity, while the foundations were laying of a flouriſhing and daily-increaſing inland-commerce, on which *alone* the proſperity of *Bengal* always did, and ever muſt depend.

But on the ſingle fact of preſents having been received from § *Najim al Dowlah* by the gentlemen of the deputation from the Council at *Calcutta*, who placed that Nabob on the *Muſnud* in *Fe-*

* See Appendix A. Number VIII. page 24.

† See a memorial from *George Johnſtone* and *George Dempſter*, Eſquires, to the Court of *Eaſt India* Directors; dated the 30th *May* 1764. Appendix A. Number VII. page 22.

‡ See a letter from Lord *Clive* to *Thomas Rous*, Eſq; dated *Madraſs* the 17th *April* 1765. Appendix A. page 33.

§ It may not be improper here, to refer the reader to a general ſtatement of the preſents received by individuals in *Bengal* from their firſt making of Nabobs to the year 1766, *as far as both come to public knowledge*, taken from a Report of the Select Committee of the Honourable Houſe of Commons made in 1773. Vide Appendix A. Number XII.

bruary

bruary 1765, Lord *Clive* discovered, while at *Madraſs*, that he had "*an* * *Augean ſtable to cleanſe*" in *Bengal*. And after the arrival of his Lordſhip, with Meſſrs. *Sumner* and *Sykes*, at *Calcutta*, on the 3d of *May* 1765, ſo very rapid was their progreſs in inquiry, that within three days they acquired a complete knowledge of the ſtate of the country; and proceeding, under oaths of ſecrecy to each other, they found, in every department of public affairs, nothing but anarchy, confuſion, and † corruption. They thereupon immediately entered

* Appendix, pages 34 and 35.

† "At a Select Committee held the 7th of *May* 1765.

Preſent, The Right Honourable *Robert*, Lord *Clive*, Preſident,
William Brightwell Sumner, Eſq; and
Francis Sykes, Eſq;

"*Reſolved*, that the following oath be taken by the ſeveral members of the Select "Committee:

"I *A. B.* do ſwear, that I will not reveal to any perſon whatever, any of the pro- "ceedings of this Committee, until the ſame be laid before the Council, or until this "Committee be diſſolved.

"*Agreed*, That Mr. *Alexander Campbell* be appointed Secretary, Mr. *Edward Baber* "Sub-ſecretary, and Mr. *William Rook* Aſſiſtant to the Committee; and that the fol- "lowing oath of ſecrecy be adminiſtered to them:

"I *A. B.* do ſwear to be true and faithful to the truſt repoſed in me by the Secret "Committee, and to reveal to no perſon whatever, the proceedings of that depart- "ment, until the ſame are laid before the Council."

Extract from Lord Clive's *Letter to the Select Committee.*

"My ſucceſſor, ſoon after my departure, thought proper to raiſe *Coſſim Alky Khawn* to the Subahſhip, doubtleſs, becauſe he thought ſuch a ſtep neceſſary. The conſe- quences, however, from whatever cauſe, were unfortunate; but let us draw a veil over thoſe diſtant tranſactions.——Let us conſider only the preſent ſtate of politics and com- merce, and let our whole attention be employed in eſtabliſhing the Company's affairs upon a firm and laſting foundation. Nor do I in the leaſt deſpair of ſeeing this impor- tant buſineſs accompliſhed, ſince I have the peculiar happineſs of finding myſelf aſſiſted by *a Committee of known abilities and incorruptible integrity*. If at any time we ſhould happen to differ in opinion, we ſhall differ like gentlemen, with temper and cool reaſon- ing. The minutes of our conſultations will not, I truſt, be prolonged by diſſention, and diſgraced with the prejudices of faction; we will endeavour to be unanimous.

"A very few days are elapſed ſince our arrival, and yet if we conſider what has already come to our knowledge, we cannot heſitate a moment upon the neceſſity of aſſuming the power that is in us, of conducting, as a Select Committee, the affairs, both civil and military, of this ſettlement. What do we hear of, what do we ſee, but anarchy, confuſion, and what is worſe, an *almoſt general* CORRUPTION? To remedy, or at leaſt to prevent theſe evils in future, is a duty incumbent on this Committee; a duty which we owe to that Company we have engaged to ſerve, and a duty which we

owe

entered on the very important buſineſs of their extraordinary miſſion, and reſolved to aboliſh all the treaties and agreements that

owe to ourſelves, if the pleas of honour, reputation, and conſcience are worthy our attention. Happy I am ſure you would have been, as well as myſelf, had the late conduct of affairs been ſo irreproachable as to have permitted them to continue in the hands of the Governor and Council. A very tranſient view, however, of what has paſſed ſince *Meer Jaffier*'s death, will convince us, that the great point of reformation we aim at, cannot be obtained through that channel. The Committee therefore, in my opinion, muſt immediately act; a meaſure ſo neceſſary, that I conclude you can have no objection to it. For my own part I will venture to aſſert, that the critical ſituation of the Company renders it abſolutely indiſpenſible, for the ſpeedy ſettling of their affairs, that the power ſhould be veſted in the hands of a few; and give me leave further to add, that unleſs the ſpirit of their orders in that reſpect be purſued, it is but too evident, that the general ſenſe of the proprietors, when they honoured me with their ſolicitation to accept of this government, will be baffled and delayed, if not totally eluded by their ſervants.

"To eſtabliſh a *country-government*, to ſecure the commercial intereſt, and to perpetuate the revenues of the Company; to form the military, and to amend the civil department, theſe will be the objects of our ſerious attention. By this Committee I ſhall hope to ſee theſe important matters completely regulated, before I reſign the government, and you know that my intention is to remain in it no longer than my aſſiſtance may be thought neceſſary towards accompliſhing theſe great and ſalutary purpoſes.

"I ſhall now only repeat what you have often heard me declare, that I totally diſclaim any emolument to myſelf.——I will not add to my fortune one ſingle rupee by the opportunities I might have, as Governor. On the other hand, be aſſured, that every advantage to others, conſiſtent with my ideas of the Company's honour and intereſt, ſhall be promoted to the utmoſt of my power here, and influence at home.

(Signed) CLIVE."

"To this letter, from the Right Honourable the Preſident, Meſſrs. *Sumner* and "*Sykes* agreed to deliver in an anſwer at the next meeting of the Committee."

"At a Select Committee held the 11th *May* 1765,

Preſent, The Right Honourable Lord *Clive*, Preſident,
William Brightwell Sumner, and
Francis Sykes, Eſquires.

"To the Right Honourable *Robert* Lord *Clive*, Preſident of the Select Committee.

"My Lord,

"The ſituation of the Company's affairs which you have deſcribed, and the meaſures propoſed by your Lordſhip for retrieving them, are perfectly agreeable to our ſentiments. We are ſenſible of the difficulty of eſtabliſhing order and tranquillity where anarchy and confuſion have ſo long pervailed; but the experience we have of your Lordſhip's great abilities, the ſteadineſs with which we have ſeen you encounter danger and difficulty, and the regard we are ſenſible you have for your own honour and the intereſt of the Company, encourage us to hope for the moſt fortunate iſſue to the proceedings of the Select Committee.

that had been ſolemnly entered into but a ſhort time before, with the Prince *Shah Allum*, the Rajah *Bulwantſing*, and the Nabob *Najim al Dowlah*; with aſſuming to themſelves the entire adminiſtration of all affairs, civil, judicial, commercial, and political; annulling the legal powers of the general Council, and rendering it's members mere * cyphers.

The

" The ſentiments which your Lordſhip is pleaſed to entertain of our attachment to you, and to the intereſts of our Employers, are juſt. We will, my Lord, expreſs ourſelves with freedom on every ſubject that regards the Public; but we can never be wanting in temper and decency where we entertain ſo much reſpect. We are urged, my Lord, by *the moſt powerful motives* to that unanimity which you recommend. The preſent unhappy ſituation of the Company's affairs ariſes more from the diſſenſions than the incapacity of thoſe gentlemen into whoſe hands your Lordſhip reſigned the government. It will be our ambition to approve ourſelves deſerving of the truſt repoſed in us by the Company, to aſſiſt your Lordſhip with our utmoſt abilities to fulfil the hopes conceived from your prudence and capacity, and to enable you to return, as you ardently wiſh, to your native country, with the ſatisfaction of having baffled the malice of faction, rendered commerce flouriſhing, and peace permanent; and the peculiar honour of raiſing the Company's affairs in *Bengal*, a ſecond time, from that deſperate ſtate into which they were ſunk through the luxury and corruption that prevailed among their ſervants.

We have the honour to be,

MY LORD,

Fort William, the 8th May 1765.

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervants,

(Signed) W. BRIGHTWELL SUMNER,
FRANCIS SYKES."

* Mr. *Vereſt*, when a Member of this Committee, made no objection to the annulling of the treaties which exiſted in 1765, when Lord *Clive* arrived, without conſulting the Council. But his opinion was different in the year 1760, upon the revolution in favour of *Meer Coſſim*, when he himſelf was a Member of the Council, and not conſulted by the Select Committee. See his opinion, as recorded in the following proceedings.

Fort William, the 8th November 1760.

At a Conſultation, preſent,

The Honourable *Henry Vanſittart*, Eſq; Preſident,
William Ellis,
William Brightwell Sumner,
Harry Vereſt,
Harry Smyth,
Samuel Waller, and
Culling Smith, Eſquires.

Mr. *Macgwire* indiſpoſed.

" Mr. *Vereſt* begs leave to obſerve, that the board have been kept, till now, intirely " ignorant of the proceedings of the Select Committee relating to the preſent revolution, " and their motives for it; he therefore cannot pretend to judge how far ſuch a ſtep was " neceſſary; but thinks, that in an affair of ſuch immediate conſequence to the Com-

pany's

The late eſtabliſhment at *Banáras*, which had but juſt been determined on by a former Governor and Council, as expedient and beneficial for the Company's affairs, was ſoon judged, by the new comers, to be neither neceſſary or ſerviceable: and they accordingly reſolved to withdraw the factory, without the examination or proof

" pany's eſtate in theſe parts, the moſt mature conſideration of *the whole board* ſhould " have been firſt had;—that a treaty, executed in the moſt ſolemn manner, ſubſiſted be- " tween *Meer Jaffier* and us; the moſt faithful adherence to which, as well as all other " our engagements, has preſerved that influence and power we have maintained ever ſince " the recapture of *Calcutta*; a ſteadineſs to which treaty made the *Britiſh* admired, nay " even courted, by every Prince throughout theſe provinces, and has ever been *fatal to* " *the Prince apparent of the Empire, and many other diſturbers*, who have hitherto weakly " endeavoured to engage us to break through thoſe ſolemn ties we were ſworn to. As " this ſudden change muſt alarm every one, to find us ſo unexpectedly breaking through " all our engagements, which were ſo public, reputable, and to the honour of the nation, " he cannot be blamed, as a member of this board, for expreſſing his diſſatisfaction, at " being made a *cypher* of in ſo critical a concern." See Journals of the Houſe of Commons, Vol. XXXIII. Page 886.

Without examining into the merits of the plea for ſecrecy, upon Mr. *Vanſittart*'s revolution, it may be ſafely aſſerted, ſuch was the ſituation of the country-powers in the year 1765, that no good argument whatever can be adduced to prove a neceſſity for confining the alterations then made to a Secret Committee.

The reaſons, however, of the noble Preſident, for transferring all power from the Council to the Secret Committee, may be ſeen by the following

Extract from Lord Clive's *Minute, at a Conſultation held the 24th* June 1765.

" When the General Court of Proprietors did me the honour to requeſt my acceptance " of this government, their affairs here ſeemed to be in a critical and dangerous ſituation. " The meaſures I determined to adopt were ſuch as, from long experience, I knew to be " eſſentially neceſſary for the true intereſt of the Company. But I alſo knew, that diſ- " ſenſions in Council had often fruſtrated the moſt ſalutary purpoſes, and that *if I had* " *conſented to ſit in this chair, poſſeſſing the authority of government equally with fifteen* " *other gentlemen*, the Company would have ſoon found themſelves diſappointed in the " hopes they were pleaſed to entertain of my abilities to render them ſervice: nor could " it be expected that I ſhould ſacrifice my health, forſake my family, and hazard my for- " tune, to accept of a ſituation in which *I could neither acquire honour to myſelf*, nor fulfil " the wiſhes of the Company. A ſelect *diſintereſted Committee, ſuch as I now have the* " *happineſs of being joined with*, was, I thought, the proper medium between abſolute " power veſted in a ſingle perſon, and *diſperſed* in the hands of a whole board. It may " be remembered, that powers equally ſtrong and extenſive were given to Mr. *Vanſittart* " alone, and in caſe of his death, or abſence, to Mr. *Spencer* and four other gentlemen.— " Lord *Clive*, Mr. *Sumner*, General *Carnac*, Meſſrs. *Vereſt* and *Sykes*, are they leſs to be " truſted than thoſe?

" The ſtate in which I found the civil and military affairs of the Preſidency, upon my " arrival, ſufficiently convinced me, that had not the power been lodged in the hands of " a few, inevitable ruin would have ſoon been the fate of *Bengal*. Whether the power " of government is exerciſed with leſs abilities, integrity, and diſintereſtedneſs by the pre- " ſent, than it was by the late poſſeſſors of each, time will determine."

of any fact, and without any information taken of the value of the object they were about to give * up for ever. In ſhort, at almoſt every factory, and in every department, the whole ſyſtem of the Company's buſineſs was ſo ſuddenly obſtructed, ſubverted, or changed, that the Natives ſaw, with equal ſurprize and contempt, that there was no ſtability in the meaſures of the Company, nor any dependance to be made on their public treaties.

His Lordſhip and the Secret Committee ſuddenly diſcovered, that *Calcutta* was in as bad a ſtate as *Sodom* or *Gomorrah* of old: that throughout *Bengal*, ſuch was the general corruption of the ſervants of the Company, that nothing could be met with, among them, but "*immorality, diſſipation, luxury, rapacity, and venality*;" and that "*the ſettlement, conducted as it was, could not have ſubſiſted* † *another* "*twelvemonth.*" They farther diſcovered, that there were none holy to be found, to ſave this *Gomorrah* from impending deſtruction, except their own Committee of ſelect and diſintereſted men.

Such was the general purport of all the repreſentations ſent home at this period, to the Court of *Eaſt India* Directors, by the noble Lord and his Committee; who, from being enabled, by the ſecrecy of their proceedings and correſpondence, to give what colour they pleaſed to every public tranſaction and every private character, became, in fact, the framers of the opinions of their conſtituents, thereby obtaining from their credulity too many confirmations of thoſe fulſome compliments which they were continually recording in approbation and praiſe of one another.

But in fact, on this Committee's firſt aſſembling at *Calcutta*, they found, as hath been before obſerved, the objects of their miſſion already accompliſhed. The country was in peace; trade on a flouriſhing footing, both internal and external, as well among *Europeans* as the Natives; the revenues were in a ſtate of improvement, and every thing agreeable to what the noble Lord *Clive* had heard and been convinced of on his way, when he wrote from *Madraſs* to his agents in *London*, to raiſe money for him by every means they could, and ‡ *in-*

* The Company were afterwards ſo well convinced of the bad policy of giving up the zemindary of *Bulwantſing*, that in the year 1771 they were very anxious to regain it, in exchange for the provinces of *Korah* and *Illahabad*. See Appendix, A, page 257.

† See Lord *Clive*'s letter to the Directors, of the 30th *September* 1765, Reports of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, vol. III. page 391; alſo his Lordſhip's letter to Sir *Joſeph Yorke*, Appendix, A. Num. XI. page 40.

‡ See Reports of the Houſe of Commons, vol. III. page 313. See alſo a copy of the evidence at large, as taken upon this tranſaction before a Committee of the Houſe, Appendix, A, Num. X. pages 28 to 39.

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veſt it in INDIA STOCK. The regular and gradual improvement of the revenues, from the ſituation in which they found the country; the progreſſive melioration and extenſion of commerce; a legal inquiry into ſuch paſt abuſes as had exiſted, and an equitable eſtabliſhment of regulations for future reformation, where requiſite, were works that required more time and attention than the Committee-gentlemen diſcovered an inclination to employ in *India*: and nothing, therefore, remained for them to do, in the great outlines of government, from which honour or emolument could be reaped, however unjuſtly, but upon ſuch a new and chimerical ſyſtem of government, as being neither to be defined or underſtood, ſhould beſt ſerve their ſecret purpoſes.

The profeſſions of the Secret Committee, therefore, of their own diſintereſtedneſs and abhorrence of the rapid acquiſition of wealth; their affected accuſations of the Company's ſervants in general, with their repeated repreſentations of the ſtrong neceſſity there was for immediately accompliſhing a thorough reformation, were no leſs injurious to the whole body, than ſyſtematically calculated to impoſe on the Public and ſuch Directors as were not in the ſecret, by turning their attention at home towards objects of no importance, as the great ends of purſuit from their miſſion; while they, the ſelect men, built their own reputations upon the ſervices, and their fortunes upon the ruin, of their fellow-ſervants.

The lawful profits to be acquired by a fair trade, when added to the licit emoluments of office, were deemed too ſcanty and precarious for rewarding the merits of this confederacy of reformers, which gave occaſion for the eſtabliſhment of the various commercial aſſociations taken notice of in the firſt part of *Conſiderations, &c.* and which it is neceſſary in this place briefly to recapitulate.

The firſt was the private monopoly, in * partnerſhip, which commenced in the beginning of *June* 1765, between Lord *Clive*, Meſſieurs *Sumner*, *Sykes*, and *Verelſt*, each one quarter part, for purchaſing large quantities of ſalt, then in the hands of private merchants: and in *Auguſt* 1765, the monopoly of inland-trade, in ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, was eſtabliſhed; which had been planned by his † Lordſhip during his voyage to *India*, and was afterwards adopted, becauſe, as the noble Preſident and Select Committee

* See the evidence of Meſſrs. *Verelſt*, *Sumner*, and *Sykes*, Reports, vol. III. pages 462 and 463.

† See Lord *Clive*'s letter of the 1ſt *February* 1766. Ibid. page 472.

expreſſed themſelves, they *"*found, that to remove the* INCONVE-
"NIENCIES *of a free trade, it was neceſſary to veſt the whole in an*
"*excluſive Company.*—On this eſtabliſhment it is to be remarked, that not only the drones and bees were all put on the ſame footing, but his Lordſhip and the Select Committee-men took care likewiſe to *ſelect* and appropriate large ſhares to themſelves.

In farther purſuit of the ſyſtem of reformation adopted by the Committee, all gradation of rank to poſts of honour or emolument in the ſervice was entirely broken through, on the pretence, as we muſt ſuppoſe, of want of integrity; for that a regard to capacity was out of the queſtion may with certainty be inferred from a number of promotions that were then made, and even ſome to the higheſt ſtations. In fact, every preferment was made from faction, private intereſt, or mere perſonal attachment. From the ſuppoſed want of honeſt and capable men in *Bengal*, four † gentlemen, quite raw and unexperienced in the affairs of *Bengal*, and totally unacquainted with the country-languages, were brought from *Madraſs*, and taken into Council; and Mr. *Alexander Campbell*, a gentleman related to the Chairman of the Court of Directors, was alſo promoted to a ſeat at the board, to the great injury and univerſal diſguſt of the Company's ſervants, notwithſtanding a ſolemn declaration of the Court that he was not to riſe above the rank of his firſt appointment.

Another *diſintereſted* combination, which had been engaged in, about this period, by the gentlemen of Council, was that of engroſſing the importation of cotton from the coaſt of *Malabar*. The extent of their engagement in this *meritorious* buſineſs was to the amount of about *three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling*, which was divided into ſhares, Mr. *Sumner* holding two-eighths, and the reſt between Meſſrs. *Verelſt*, *Watts*, *Ruſſell*, *Kelſall*, *Ffloyer*, and *Alderſey*.

* See the 32d paragraph of a letter from the Select Committee at *Bengal* of the 30th *September* 1765, which was ſigned by Lord *Clive*, Mr. *Sumner*, General *Carnac*, Mr. *Verelſt*, and Mr. *Sykes*. Reports, vol. IV. page 183.

† Meſſrs. *Claud Ruſſell*, *William Alderſey*, *Thomas Kelſall*, and *Charles Ffloyer*. The reaſons for and againſt thoſe promotions are contained in the following Numbers of our Appendix, under the Letter A, *viz.*

Num. XIII. The proceedings of the Select Committee of the 5th *Nov.* 1765, Page 41.
XIV. Ditto of the 20th *January* 1766, ... Ibid. 44.
The memorial of the Company's ſervants at *Bengal*, . . . Ibid. 48.
XV. A letter from Mr. *George Guſtavus Ducarell*, ... Ibid. 51.
XVII. Lord *Clive*'s letter of the 20th *March* 1766, ... Ibid. 120.
XXIV. Ditto of the 12th *December* 1766, ... Ibid. 141.

On

On the merits of theſe engagements it may be alleged, with the greateſt truth, that, to a trading and manufacturing community, no practices can be equally ruinous with thoſe of monopolizing the neceſſaries of life and the raw materials for trade or navigation. Yet ſuch were the boaſted merits of the ſelf-praiſing and ſelf-denying reformers arrived from *England* and from *Madraſs*, who pretended in *Bengal* to check rapine, amend abuſes, and reſtore order by their own good example.

So far it is hoped this digreſſion will be allowed as neceſſary for giving information to the reader of the ſtate of the Company's ſervice at that time in *Bengal*, as connected with the writer's caſe; to which we now return. But it much grieves the narrator, that he is here again, in his vindication, compelled to open ſuch old ſores afreſh, as he has long wiſhed for ever healed.

As ſoon as the appointments to *Banáras* were adjuſted, in order to promote unanimity in that infant-ſettlement, the parties agreed, before they left *Calcutta*, by articles which they entered into on the 21ſt *November* 1764, that all legal advantages derived from their ſtations ſhould be divided amongſt them, in ſettled proportions, according to the eſtimated difference of their reſpective ranks in the Company's ſervice, *viz.*

To the Chief, *Randolph Marriott*, Eſq; . . .	$\frac{13}{32}$
the ſecond in Council, *William Bolts*, . .	$\frac{9}{32}$
the third, Mr. *John Graham*, ...	$\frac{7}{32}$
the Aſſiſtant, Mr. *William Marriott*, . . .	$\frac{3}{32}$
	32

And it was provided expreſsly in their agreement, "that in caſe the "Preſident and Council of *Fort William* ſhould inveſt the Chief with "powers independent of his Council, for him alone to negociate a "treaty, or tranſact buſineſs with *Sujah al Dowlah*, or any other of "the country-powers, the advantages which might accrue from the "execution of ſuch orders, ſhould be his ſole property; but other-"wiſe, that all advantages ſhould come under the terms of this "agreement."

The ſtipulations on behalf of the Company, with the princes of the country, were at this time conducted by Mr. *Randolph Marriott* and Major *John Carnac*: but their ultimate agreements with *Bulwantſing*, Rajah of *Banáras*, were not finally concluded till the 20th of

of *February* 1765. By thoſe agreements the revenue for the year was ſettled at a fixed ſum, ſo that the factory had no buſineſs with the interior collections for that year. All kinds of juriſdiction, civil and criminal, as exerciſed in the offices of the *Aumeen*, *Fowzdar*, and *Cutwâl*, together with the mint at *Banáras*, were likewiſe formally given up, on the part of the Company, to the *Indian* government.

Mr. *Graham*, the third in Council, had arrived at *Banáras* a conſiderable time before the writer. Upon their arrival they reſpectively found, that the Chief's Banyan, a *Hindoo* of a very intriguing diſpoſition, named *Durgachurn Metre*, in whom Mr. *Marriott* greatly confided, aſſuming the juriſdiction which had been formally given up on the part of the Company, decided arbitrarily, at his own houſe, on all matters that he could bring before him; whether they reſpected the buſineſs of the revenues, or the offices of the *Aumeen* or *Cutwâl*. They found alſo, that the Chief had obtained a grant of the *Banáras*-mint, which he held on his own account.

With reſpect to the juriſdiction illegally exerciſed by the Banyan, under the Chief, it was equally diſagreeable to Mr. *Graham* and the writer, as it made them appear extremely inſignificant in the eyes of the natives. So likewiſe with reſpect to the mint, it was inſiſted on by Mr. *Graham*, as well as by the writer, that if Mr. *Marriott* was permitted to hold it, all were intitled to their reſpective ſhares of the emoluments which might ariſe from it, by virtue of the joint agreement of the 21ſt *November* 1764.

The firſt public letter from General *Carnac* to the Select Committee, adviſing the reſtoration of *Sujah al Dowlah* to his loſt dominions, was dated the 26th *May* 1765; and in his letter of the * 17th *June* following he gives them the firſt *public hint*, that the Zemindary of *Banáras* was at too great a diſtance to be worth keeping; but preſuming, as may be ſuppoſed, on his influence with Lord *Clive*, he had given a promiſe to Mr. *Iſaac Sage*, a young man who had but lately been taken into the ſervice as a writer, that he ſhould be kept at *Banáras* in the quality of Reſident, after the factory ſhould be withdrawn, long before thoſe meaſures were publicly adopted. Mr. *Graham*, apprized of the intended alterations, and aſſured of every promotion that could be effected in his favour, by his particular friend Mr. *Sumner*, a member of the Secret Committee, withdrew from the factory in time to avail himſelf of ſuch lucrative and ho-

* See this letter in the Reports of the Houſe of Commons, vol. III. page 419.

nourable

nourable posts as were kept *in reserve* for him.——He was first placed in an intermediate station, that of Secretary to the Committee of Lands; from which he was soon removed to the Chiefship, or Residency of *Midnipore*, and his partner, Mr. *James Lawrell*, was placed in his office of Secretary.

It is not the writer's intention, in this place, to reflect on Mr. *Lawrell* or Mr. *Graham*, both gentlemen of abilities, equal to any in the Company's service; but merely to inform the reader, that those appointments were made all in the highest degree injurious to him, and contrary to the usage of the service.

Mr. *Graham*, in view of what was far more advantageous, had left the writer to settle the affair of the mint at *Banáras*, with Mr. *Marriott*, as well as he could. Unfortunately, on the 9th *August* 1765, a dispute happened between Mr. *Marriott* and him, relative to his having arrested a native at *Banáras*, named *Sadoolall*; on which that gentleman, the very next day, hastily appealed to the board at *Calcutta*, complaining of this arrest, as an infringement of his authority as chief.——This sudden and public appeal extorted, by way of recrimination, a complaint from the writer against Mr. *Marriott*, upon the subjects of the mint held by him, and the jurisdiction exercised by his banyan *Durgachurn Metre*.

The most perspicuous and effectual means of informing the reader of the true state of this affair will be to lay before him, at length, copies of all the letters and proceedings thereon, together with the decision made by the Governor and Council of *Calcutta*, in the precise order of their occurring. And however unimportant these affairs may appear, *primâ facie*, as private matters, yet, to the reader, who wishes for information on *India* affairs, they will afford real information of the nature of the interior police, and the administration of justice in *Bengal* and its connected provinces, under the government of the Company.

But that this narrative may not appear too much interrupted by an insertion here of all the papers that passed between the contending parties at *Banáras*, we have separately collected their proceedings at that factory by official consultations; their respective appeals to the Governor and Council at *Calcutta*, who recalled both parties to the Presidency, and there arbitrarily and unjustly did injure the writer by every possible means, alike as a trader and servant of the Company; together with the final decisions made, and the censures that were passed on the occasion, by that supreme board; and we have inserted them in our Appendix under the Letter C. with con-

junctive, narrative, and explanatory notes, for the information of the reader.

After the arrival of Mr. *Marriott* and the writer at *Calcutta*, the Preſident and Council kept them a long while in unreaſonable and cruel ſuſpenſe. The board did not think proper to take up this buſineſs, on which they had been expreſly called down to *Calcutta*, until the 17th *February* 1766; in which interval, ſtrict, though groundleſs inquiries, were ſecretly made at *Banáras* for proofs of miſconduct againſt the writer, who, in fact, had the whole Select Committee againſt him.

Mr. *Sumner* was the avowed protector of Mr. *Graham*, whoſe ſucceſſive appointments were to be uninterruptedly ſecured to him, under that gentleman's patronage. General *Carnac* was the particular friend of Mr. *Sage*, to whom the factory at *Banáras* was to be given under the title of Reſidency; and Mr. *Sykes* was ſtrongly attached to Mr. *Marriott*. The writer having been formerly in partnerſhip with Mr. *John Johnſtone*, there was reaſon to think, however unconnected in party-matters, that the friendly connexions which ſtill ſubſiſted between him and that much-injured gentleman, who had been in open contention with Lord *Clive* and the Select Committee, did not influence the noble Lord in the writer's favour: and much leſs was it probable, that Mr. *Verelſt*, who, through his Lordſhip's manœuvres, had the chair of *Bengal* in view, in prejudice to Mr. *Sumner*, would thwart ſuch meaſures as Lord *Clive* and General *Carnac* had determined upon.——The other members at the Council-board, at this time, acted the parts of mere cyphers.

Before this affair came on to be canvaſſed at the Board of Council, the writer waited on ſeveral of the members, who acknowledged that his cauſe was juſt, and his pleas for going back to *Banáras* in his former ſtation, or elſe to have the Reſidency, in preference to Mr. *Sage*, were well founded.—Indeed, one gentleman informed him, that "the leſs he ſaid on the affair, the better it would be for "him:" and another member of the Council *honeſtly* declared to him, that "as he knew Lord *Clive* had a *bank* over him, he ſhould "not venture to give his ſentiments in oppoſition to any opinion "of his Lordſhip's."

In this diſpoſition of the Preſident and Council, on the 17th *February* 1766, the affair between Mr. *Marriott* and the writer was taken into conſideration, when, after reading all the written evidence, and examining the parties, *vivâ voce*, the board were pleaſed

to

to pass their * judgment, "that Mr. *Marriott* was highly culpable "in renting the mint, but they humbly hoped, that, in consideration of his general good character, the Company would be satisfied with restitution, and take no further notice of the affair." And with respect to the writer, they "judged him highly deserving "of censure for the disrespect he was guilty of towards his Chief, "in taking upon himself to arrest *Sadoololl*; nor did they allow him "*any merit in the discovery of the mint-farm, as there was reason,*" as they said, "*to believe he was too much influenced thereto, from his being "refused a share therein by Mr.* Marriott."

But before we proceed to comment on what has been just related or referred to, it may be necessary to instance some other measures which have an intimate relation to the subject before us.

In the INSTRUCTIONS which the Select Committee gave to Lord *Clive*, dated the 21st *June* 1765, for regulating his conduct at the personal interview then intended with the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*, for the purpose of restoring that Prince to his dominions, one † paragraph was penned as follows:

"It will be necessary, however, that your Lordship obtain a *full* "*grant*, in the fullest terms, for carrying on a free-trade through his "dominions, with the privileges of establishing factories wherever "we shall think proper, to which shall be annexed such contiguous "lands and districts as may be found necessary to the convenience and "support of the settlements. We mean without charge to *Sujah al* "*Dowlah*, or diminution of his revenues. But the keeping of *Chu-*"*nargur* and other strong holds, and protecting our commerce by "a military power, is a measure concerning the expediency of "which your Lordship will judge, from a further inquiry into cir-"cumstances."

In consequence of this *instruction*, although the question then was, not what the vanquished Nabob would *grant*, but what should be *given*, or restored to him, it was expressly stipulated, by Lord *Clive* and General *Carnac*, in the 8th article of the *treaty* of the ‡ 16th *August* 1765, that his Highness "should allow the *English* to carry "on a trade, duty-free, throughout *the whole of his dominions.*" And in order to secure the attachment of *Bulwantsing*, and to guard him against the resentment of this Nabob, whom he had betrayed in the time of action, by the 5th article, his Zemindary was secured to him

* See this judgment at large in the Appendix C. page 336.
† Reports, vol. III. page 422.
‡ *Considerations*, &c. vol. I. Appendix, page 28.

under a fixed annual ſum, which, in fact, made him more dependent on the *Calcutta* Government than on the Nabob to whom they choſe to make him tributary. After the adjuſtment of this *treaty*, it was ſuggeſted by his Lordſhip and the General, that the Nabob had appeared extremely averſe to the eſtabliſhment of factories in his dominions; and although it is plain, that, conſidering the Nabob's dependent ſituation and the diſtinct juriſdiction of the Rajah, thoſe objections, if any ſuch were really made, could not in reaſon have been applied to the Company's factory before eſtabliſhed at *Banáras*, nevertheleſs, this ſuggeſtion was afterwards uſed as an argument to juſtify the propriety of the Committee's withdrawing that factory; notwithſtanding the *treaty* of *Auguſt* 1765 continued in full force, and was even confirmed by a new * one.

In like manner, as if to give a ſanction to the injuſtice that was intended to be practiſed towards the writer, in the tranſaction now under diſcuſſion, at a Select Committee held the 29th *October* 1765, it was entered on the Company's records, that *Sujah al Dowlah* had complained, in a letter received by the noble Preſident on the 28th *Octaberi*, † "that the buſineſs of his government met with great in-"terruption from *the gentlemen* of the *Engliſh* factory at *Banáras*;" thereby recording on their proceedings, a fact injurious to the writer as ſecond of that factory, which had not the leaſt foundation in truth; ſince the letter before them appeared to contain a complaint in which Mr. *Marriott* ‡ alone was concerned. And in the ſentence pronounced by the board againſt the writer, on the 17th *February* 1766, his information of Mr. *Marriott*'s holding the mint at *Banáras* was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of a DISCOVERY, although, on the face of the proceedings before that very board, it appeared, that the noble Preſident had been informed of the fact by a letter from Mr. *Marriott* himſelf, dated in § *June* 1765, as well as by the above-mentioned letter from *Sujah al Dowlah*, in *October* following; without holding any government-proceedings thereon.

There had been no public order of Council as yet made for withdrawing the factory at *Banaras*, and therefore the writer applied to the board for leave to return to his ſtation while the factory might be continued; or, if it ſhould be withdrawn, to remain there

* Dated the 29th *November* 1768. See Journals of the Houſe of Commons, vol. XXXIII. page 940.

† See Appendix C. page 330.

‡ Ibid. pages 331 and 332.

§ Ibid. page 311.

as Reſident until the payment might be compleated of the fifty lacks which *Sujah al Dowlah* had agreed to give, upon being reſtored to his loſt dominions; in pledge for payment whereof, he had depoſited two large cheſts of very rich jewels, which were left at the factory under charge of Mr. *Sage*. But although the affair between Mr. *Marriott* and the writer had been finally adjudged by the Council, on the 17th *February* 1766; yet, as if the injuſtice of the judgment then given was not ſufficient, on this occaſion, his late * conduct at *Banáras*, which had been rather praiſe-worthy than

* At a Conſultation held at *Calcutta* the 24th *February* 1766, preſent,

The Right Hon. *Robert* Lord *Clive*, Preſident,
Brigadier General *John Carnac*,
Harry Verelſt,
Francis Sykes,
Randolph Marriott,
Hugh Watts,
Claud Ruſſell,
William Alderſey,
Thomas Kelſall, and
Charles Floyer, Eſquires.

"Mr. *Bolts* ſends in a letter, requeſting permiſſion to return to *Banáras* in his former ſtation, to ſettle his concerns, as follows:

"To the Right Honourable *Robert* Lord *Clive*, Preſident and Governor, *&c.* Gentlemen of the Council.

"My Lord and Gentlemen,

"It is now upwards of four months, ſince, in conſequence of the unhappy diſputes at *Banáras*, you were pleaſed to give orders to Mr. *Marriott* and myſelf to repair to *Calcutta*, and deliver over to the preſent proviſional Reſident, the charge of the factory during our abſence. As the buſineſs upon which we came down is now finiſhed, on my own part I am to acquaint your Lordſhip, *&c.* gentlemen, that I am now ready, and only want your permiſſion to repair back to my ſtation, begging you will pleaſe ſoon to favour me therewith, that I may return to my family, from which I have been ſo long abſent.

"Should the factory be continued, I am perfectly ſatisfied with my preſent rank, as ſecond, but in caſe the preſent eſtabliſhment of Chief and Council be aboliſhed, and only a gentleman, under Council, continued as Reſident till the remainder of the *Tunkhaw* money be recovered, I have further to requeſt, that I may be continued there. I humbly hope, from your impartiality, that in ſuch caſe this will not only be eſteemed my right, from my rank in, and the rules of the ſervice; but that, in conſideration of my family alſo, you will eſteem it an equitable indulgence, when it is conſidered, that was I permitted to return to *Banáras* to ſettle my private concerns and bring my family down, acting during my ſtay in a private capacity only, at a factory where I have been reſpected in a public character, it would prove greatly prejudicial to my affairs, and highly

than blameable, was again brought on the carpet, as a pretence to juſtify the unparalleled indignity of putting the ſecond in Council under the command of Mr. *Sage*, a writer at that factory.

At a ſubſequent conſultation, held on the 3d *March* 1766, Mr. *Marriott*, who, as hath been ſhewn by the proceedings referred to in the laſt note, had now taken his ſeat at the board, entered a minute in his juſtification, on the ſubject of their ſentence, and praying, that the Preſident and Council would take the matter into further conſideration, and mitigate the ſeverity of the cenſure which they had paſſed upon him: and again, on the 23d *November* 1766, he wrote them another letter on the ſame ſubject. But though the board were pleaſed to take no notice of Mr. *Marriott*'s minute, or letter, yet, that nothing may be thought omitted which could be produced, in vindication of either party, they are alſo inſerted in the * Appendix.

The gentlemen of the Council who had flattered the writer with hopes of eſpouſing his cauſe as an act of juſtice, at the conſultation of the 17th *February* 1766, either changed their minds, or had not the ſpirit to record their diſſents. The reader muſt have obſerved, that he was not cenſured upon any proved fact, but for what the Right Honourable the Preſident and his Council were pleaſed *to think*, "*they had reaſon to believe* INFLUENCED *his con-*"*duct.*" And as to diſreſpect towards the chief at *Banáras*, conſidering all juriſdiction as formally given up by treaty to the *Indian*-government, the chief was equally as reſponſible to the country-laws as the writer; the officers of that government alone having a right to complain, if injured.

With reſpect to the firſt ſeizure of the merchant, *Sadoololl*, by peons, the writer had ſufficiently accounted for it in his † letter

highly injurious to that reputation which every gentleman in the ſervice would chuſe to ſupport in the eyes of the country people.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect,
My Lord and Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,
(Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS."

Fort William,
the 21ſt February 1766.

The ſaid letter being read,

"The board do not think Mr. *Bolts* intitled to the indulgence he requeſts, *from his late conduct at* Banáras, but that he may have permiſſion to return in a private capacity to ſettle his affairs till the firſt of *July* next."

* See Appendix C. Number XXIII. and XXIV.

† Ibid. page 304.

to

to the board of the 12th *Auguſt* 1765. His conduct in that tranſaction was irreprehenſible; and leaſt of all men did it become Mr. *Verelſt*, who ſat in judgment on the writer for that affair, which was concluded during the government of his predeceſſor, to bring it again on the carpet. Yet it is upon the facts here fully ſtated, that Mr. *Verelſt*, in order to miſlead and prejudice the uninformed reader, has inſerted theſe words: * "In the year 1765, we find "him (*Bolts*) exerciſing ſummary juriſdiction *in his own cauſe*, and "confining a merchant *for three days*, whom, at length, he was "*compelled to releaſe*. This appears from his own letters entered "in the conſultations of the Council in *February* 1766. He was "ſoon after this *ſuſpended* from his appointment at *Banáras*, &c."

Upon every other fact alleged againſt the writer, Mr. *Verelſt* has induſtriouſly given partial extracts of letters, or proceedings, to give a colour of truth to his aſſertions. Here he has *prudently* ſuppreſſed the whole, although, being a party to the judgment, he was entirely maſter of the ſubject.

If the writer's conduct relative to this affair, but particularly the firſt ſeizure of *Sadoololl* by peons, ſhould in the mind of any unprejudiced reader, ſtill require a further vindication; let him read what the Committee of Secrecy of the Honourable Houſe of Commons have been pleaſed to report on the ſubject of this † practice. If

* *Verelſt*'s View, &c. page 39.

† "Your Committee having inquired in what manner the *Engliſh* Company, or its "ſervants, uſed to proceed, during the ancient government, to compel payment of their "debts from any of the natives now reſiding under the *Britiſh* flag, they were informed "by ſeveral of the witneſſes, that where the debtor was a perſon dependant on, or connected with the Company, in the courſe of commerce, and reſiding (as thoſe perſons "generally did) in the neighbourhood of any of the Company's ſettlements, the general "practice was, to lay hold of his perſon by their own authority, without applying to "any court, or officer of the government; that they ſometimes ventured to exerciſe "the ſame right even where the debtor did not fall under that deſcription; but that "this was an abuſe, though generally overlooked by the government. That in the "former caſe, the government tacitly allowed and countenanced the practice of ſeizing "and detaining the debtor, it being much the diſpoſition of the government to give all "poſſible encouragement to the *Europeans*, from whoſe commerce their country then "derived ſuch conſiderable advantages. In caſes where it was not thought prudent to "proceed in this manner, the only remedy was by application to the government; but "your Committee were informed, that there was ſeldom occaſion to make uſe of either "of theſe ways to compel payment of any debt to the Company, or its ſervants, for "that the perſons dealing with them, reaped ſo much benefit from that connexion, that "there ſeldom aroſe any diſpute between them."

"Your Committee were further informed, that the *French* and *Dutch* exerciſed the "ſame privilege of ſeizing their debtors, and had even continued the practice after the "Company's acquiſition of the Dewannee." See Reports, vol. IV. page 325.

preſſed

preſſed for an excuſe, in juſtification of a conduct directed by no law or uſage; the writer might ſay in the very words of Mr. *Verelſt*, * "without examining my own conduct by rules which "were not formed for the ſcene in which I acted, it will fully "ſatisfy my ambition, if, to the candid and diſpaſſionate, I ſhall "appear to have purſued the intereſts of my employers; to have "reſpected the rights of others, and to have deſerved the character "of an honeſt man." Or, in the ſame gentleman's words, we might condemn the ideas of thoſe perſons † "who will eſtimate "our conduct in the government of *Bengal* by the rigid letter of "thoſe laws which the more perfect polity of *Great Britain* can "alone admit."

But the writer is not reduced to the neceſſity of availing himſelf of ſuch ſubterfuges to palliate an invaſion of the rights of mankind; for the fact was, that the *Cutwâl*, to whom he had applied, heſitated to appear in the exerciſe of the juriſdiction of his own office, from his fear of the chief's banyan. The writer's acting, therefore, at all in this affair, which was the firſt and laſt of the kind in which he was ever concerned, was in his capacity of ſecond in Council at *Banáras*, in reality, more with a view of wreſting from the banyan, *Durgachurn Metre*, the juriſdiction he had aſſumed, and of reſtoring it to the *Cutwâl*, who alone had a legal right to exerciſe it, than from any other motive whatever.

When the reader has conſidered the whole tenor of the conduct of the Governor and Council towards the writer, throughout this tranſaction, he will not be ſurprized when informed, that the examinations contained in the ‡ proceedings held at *Bandras*, by which the writer had eſtabliſhed all his facts, and upon which his juſtification moſt materially depended, although read at the board, *were neither incorporated with the proceedings of the Council*, NOR TRANSMITTED HOME TO THE COURT OF EAST INDIA DIRECTORS, as is the invariable uſage of the ſervice. Whether this ſuppreſſion was occaſioned by any ſecret enemy of the writer, or ſome ſecret friend of Mr. *Marriott*, may be difficult to diſcover. But moſt probably this, as well as the partiality of the public proceedings on this occaſion, with reſpect to the writer, did ſerve to confirm, in the ideas of ſome of the Directors, the general and favourite poſitions

* *Verelſt*'s View, &c. page 131.
† Ibid. page 130.
‡ See Appendix C. pages 321 to 329.

of the Select Committee, by adding one more to THEIR LIST of unprofitable, or ſuſpected ſervants; eſpecially as that Court was afterwards pleaſed implicitly to * confirm the unjuſt ſentence of the Preſident and Council at *Calcutta*.

Soon after the board's ſecond judgment of the 24th *February* 1766, the writer returned to *Banáras*, under the indignity impoſed on him, to put his mercantile concerns in a way that might enable him to leave them to the management of his agents, after he ſhould quit the country, to reſide at *Calcutta*, in obedience to the orders of the board. But before we proceed further in this narrative, it is neceſſary to explain the nature, extent, and conſequences of the trade which the writer carried on in the provinces of *Oud* and *Illahabad*; firſt premiſing, that the whole of his ſaid trade was ſtrictly legal, according to the laws and uſages of *Hindoſtan*, and equally conformable to the exiſting regulations of the board at *Calcutta*, the uniform uſages of the Company, and the orders of the *Eaſt India* Directors, beſides being highly beneficial to the Company's affairs; as the reader will ſee incontrovertibly demonſtrated in the courſe of theſe diſcuſſions.

The firſt concern of conſequence was his importing, at *Banáras*, to the amount of near twenty thouſand pounds ſterling worth of woollens, and other *Britiſh* ſtaple-commodities, which he had purchaſed at the Company's public auctions in *Calcutta*.

The ſecond was his manufactories of ſaltpetre, which he had eſtabliſhed at great expence and riſk, in many places where that article was never before produced; for the more effectual proſecution of which, he had purchaſed of Meſſrs. *Randolph* and *William Marriott*, and *Iſaac Sage*, all the advances which they had made for this article, paying them *ſeventy-five per cent.* clear profit on the ſums they had diſburſed.

The third was his manufactories of ophium, which, from encouraging the cultivation of that drug in grounds where it had never been planted before, he increaſed to ſuch a degree as to make them produce him three hundred cheſts in one ſeaſon.

The fourth was the importation of cotton from a diſtant country, in an unuſual track, down the river *Jumna* into *Bengal*; which he alſo carried on to the extent of ten thouſand pounds ſterling capital amount of cotton imported in one ſeaſon.

* See Appendix C. Number XXV. page 340.

The fifth was, of diamonds, which he imported in a direct channel from the mines of *Panna* and *Chudderpoor*, being at the diſtance of above ſeven hundred miles from *Calcutta*.—The writer conſidered, that by giving the merchants proper encouragement, it would be as eaſy to direct the courſe of that valuable trade to *Banáras*, as to *Madraſs*, which had for many years been the eſtabliſhed mart for them. It was the writer who firſt opened this direct channel among the *Engliſh* in *Bengal*; and the good treatment which the merchants experienced from him in this traffick, brought him a complimentary letter from *Hindooput*, the *Rajah* of the country.

The reader will perceive, that all theſe valuable branches of trade were carried on by the writer, "*beyond, or without the provinces of* "Bengal, Bahar, *and* Oriſſa." And it muſt likewiſe at firſt ſight appear evident, that they all ſtrongly tended to promote the intereſts of the Company.

The *firſt*, becauſe it was extending, in a conſiderable degree, the Company's imports, and particularly thoſe from *England*, highly advantageous to this kingdom.

The *ſecond* and *third*, becauſe the increaſed importation of ſaltpetre and ophium into *Bahar* and *Bengal*, would tend to the making of thoſe commodities cheap where the Company have moſt occaſion for them.

The *fourth*, becauſe it was a new channel of ſupply for cotton, on the abundance of which article, at the provincial markets, depended the cheapneſs, goodneſs, and full ſupply of the callico-manufactures, the great ſtaple of the Company's aſſumed dominions: and

The *fifth*, becauſe it was opening a new branch of trade in diamonds, which was furniſhing an important additional means for remitting private fortunes to *Europe*, with advantage to the Company, inſtead of being injurious, as almoſt every other was.

When Lord *Clive* was at *Banáras*, in the beginning of *Auguſt* 1765, the writer communicated to him the plan he had formed for the bringing of diamonds directly from the mines, to which he had already ſent an agent. His Lordſhip approved of the ſcheme, and verbally agreed to take a concern in it; but ſoon afterwards, ſo far altered his mind as to quit his engagement, and undertake the engroſſing of it to himſelf; for which purpoſe he eſtabliſhed Mr. *John Chamier* as his agent at *Banáras*. By a letter, dated the 4th of *October* 1765, his Lordſhip informed the writer, that he had given over all thoughts of purchaſing diamonds; but at the time

time when that letter came to hand, the writer was ſhewn, by Mr. *Chamier*, other letters from his Lordſhip, in which he had given that gentleman, as his * agent, orders to make very large purchaſes of them, while, at the ſame time, he cautioned him *to be aware of* Bolts.

This was ſufficient information to the writer of what he had to expect. † Diſſembling, however, his real ſentiments, on the noble Lord's giving up his intended ſhare, the writer kept on his own account, the ‡ parcels purchaſed by the agent firſt employed, and

* To a charge againſt Lord *Clive*, tranſmitted to him by the *Eaſt India* Directors, his Lordſhip, on the 30th *March* 1772, anſwered, in the Honourable Houſe of Commons, as follows:

"The ſecond charge againſt me is a monopoly of diamonds; and this alſo I get rid "of in a few words. There are only two channels by which a ſervant of the Company "can, with propriety, remit his fortune. The one, by paying the money into the "treaſury in *India*, and receiving bills upon the Company, payable in *England*; the "other, by diamonds.

"By the *acquiſition* of the Dewannee, and the ſucceſsful endeavours of the Seleƈt "Committee, the Company's treaſury was *ſo rich*, that we could not have been juſtified "in drawing bills upon the Company. It was neceſſary I ſhould, in ſome mode, re-"mit the amount of my jagueer. For this purpoſe, and for this only, *I ſent an agent* "*into a diſtant and independant country*, to make purchaſes of diamonds. Thoſe "diamonds were not ſent home clandeſtinely; I cauſed them to be regiſtered; I paid "the duty upon them; and theſe remittances, upon the whole, turn out three *per cent.* "worſe than bills of exchange upon the Company. This is all I know of a mono-"poly of diamonds." See his Lordſhip's ſpeech, printed for *J. Walter*, page 9.

† See the following letter to Mr. *Strachey*, who was then Lord *Clive*'s Secretary.

"To *Henry Strachey*, Eſq;

"SIR,

"I was duly favoured with your letter of the 2d inſtant, as alſo one from his Lord-ſhip, dated the 4th.——As his Lordſhip has given over all thoughts of inveſting his money in diamonds, I alſo have entirely ſet aſide that ſcheme, for my ſole motive in that undertaking would have been to render myſelf ſerviceable to him. I myſelf ſhould not have bought a ſingle ſtone, nor have offered to take a ſmall concern, only his Lord-ſhip, in his converſation with me, told me he thought it would be beſt for me to hold a ſmall ſhare. The trifle I have purchaſed, I ſhall have the pleaſure of ſhewing to his Lordſhip in *Calcutta*.

"In conſequence of the orders of the board, as ſoon as I get a *Budgerow*, which I am daily in expectation of, I ſhall ſet off for *Calcutta*.

I am, *&c. &c.*

Banáras, the 29th Oct. 1765. (Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS."

‡ The firſt diamonds ſent to *England*, from this new channel of communication, were of theſe parcels obtained by the writer, who was not ſo unſucceſsful in his remittance, as the noble Lord ſays he was in thoſe which he engaged in. They were ſold in *London* in the year 1766, by Mr. *Abraham de Paiba*, who declared them to be, upon the whole, fifteen *per cent.* better than the aſſortments that were then received from *Madraſs*.

relinquiſhed the trade; which his Lordſhip, by his own agent, then engaged in, with the aſſiſtance of the very ſervants whom the writer had employed, and by the track of correſpondence which he had opened.

In the month of *July* 1766, his Lordſhip and General *Carnac* paid another viſit to the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*; who, with the Rajah *Bulwantſing*, met them on the borders of the *Bahar* province, at *Chupprah*. Strong injunctions were there made to the Nabob for impeding the writer's trade, and even for compelling him to quit the province of *Banáras*; and it was alſo recommended to the Rajah to lodge complaints againſt him. But the Nabob having a perſonal regard for him was, equally with the Rajah, averſe to the doing him ſuch an injury: on the contrary, intelligence was immediately ſent from *Chupprah* to the writer, then at *Banáras*, of the ſecret meaſures that were thus in purſuit againſt him. Soon after this, an order, evidently proceeding from private inſtructions that had been ſent from *Chupprah*, was iſſued by the board at *Calcutta* to Mr. *Iſaac Sage*, the Reſident at *Banáras*, directing him, on three days notice, to ſend the writer down to *Calcutta* by force: and about the ſame time, Mr. *Sage* likewiſe received private inſtructions for cauſing a ſtop to be put to his buſineſs. In conſequence of ſuch inſtructions, on the evening of the 21ſt *Auguſt* 1766, Mr. *Sage*, in company with Lord *Clive*'s agent, Mr. *Chamier*, then at *Banáras*, waited upon the Rajah *Bulwantſing*, at his houſe called *Durgakoon*, and ordered him to put a ſtop to all the writer's mercantile buſineſs; which, however, the Rajah was ſo far from complying with, that he immediately ſent him private intelligence thereof, with the ſtrongeſt marks of his diſapprobation of ſuch treacherous meaſures.

For the public proceedings of the board at *Calcutta* on the beforementioned occaſions, not to ſwell our Appendix to an enormous ſize, we beg leave to refer the reader to the copies of the papers contained in the * notes hereunto ſubjoined; only reminding him that ſuch ſeverity

* At a Conſultation held the 28th *July* 1766, preſent,
William Brightwell Sumner, Eſq; Preſident, in the abſence of Lord *Clive*,
Harry Verelſt,
Randolph Marriott,
Hugh Watts,
Claud Ruſſell,
William Alderſey,
Thomas Kelſall, and
Charles Ffloyer, Eſquires.

" Mr. *Bolts* having exceeded the time limited in Conſultation, the 24th *February* 1766, " for his return to *Calcutta* from *Banáras*, " *Ordered*

verity was practiſed towards no man in or out of the Company's ſervice, except the writer; and that upon all occaſions of other perſons being,

" *Ordered*, That Mr. *Sage*, the Reſident at that factory, be directed to inform him, " that the board are diſpleaſed with the neglect he has ſhewn to their orders. That he " is therefore to ſend him down immediately; and that unleſs Mr. *Bolts* arrives in *Calcutta* " by the 28th *Auguſt*, he will ſtand diſmiſſed the ſervice."

" To *William Bolts*, Eſq;

" SIR,

" The Preſident and Council of *Fort William* being diſpleaſed at your exceeding the " time limited for your ſtay at *Banáras*, direct that you leave this place *in three days* " from the date hereof. They likewiſe order me to acquaint you, that you are allowed " to the 28th of this month to perform your journey to *Calcutta*; and that if you are " not there at the above time, you from that day ſtand diſmiſſed the Company's ſervice.

I am, SIR,

Banáras, Your moſt obedient ſervant,

the 9th Auguſt 1766. (Signed) ISAAC SAGE."

" To the Right Honourable *Robert* Lord *Clive*, Preſident, *&c.* Council of *Fort William*.

" My Lord and Gentlemen,

" Mr. *Sage* has communicated to me your orders of the 28th *July*, reſpecting my ſtay " at *Banáras*, with the rigorous penalty of diſmiſſion from the ſervice annexed, in caſe I " do not arrive in *Calcutta* by the 28th of the preſent month. By the ſeverity of the " order it would appear your Lordſhip, *&c.* Gentlemen apprehended I had ſtayed inten- " tionally beyond the time allowed me, and had contumaciouſly diſregarded the limit of " abſence with which I was indulged. But I aſſure you it was far otherwiſe; and that " nothing but the abſolute and diſagreeable neceſſity I have been, and ſtill am under, " from the ſituation of my concerns, could have forced me to ſtay an hour beyond the " time allowed me.

" When I left *Calcutta*, I was in hopes of being able to finiſh the *Banáras* affairs, I " was then deeply engaged in, within the time allotted me. Since my arrival here, as " Mr. *Sage* can teſtify, I have been no way deficient in my endeavours; which have been " rendered fruitleſs, not only from want of time to prepare my goods, but from other " diſagreeable circumſtances, by which even thoſe I had ready have been detained.

" In conſequence of the late regulations, I applied to the factory at *Patna* for duſtucks, " which were denied me; being told, in anſwer to my application, that duſtucks were " prohibited to be granted into *Sujah al Dowlah*'s dominions. On a ſecond application, " however, they were granted, and only within theſe few days paſt I have received them. " In the mean time my goods were detained, and duties have actually been collected on " ſome by *Sujah al Dowlah*'s officers.

" Now I have obtained the duſtucks, by the ſeizure of boats for the tranſportation of " the brigade, and other public occaſions, I have been not only deprived of thoſe I had " procured, but am incapacitated from procuring others, till the tranſportation of the " brigade to *Patna* be compleated. Moreover, there is no perſon here to whom I can " leave the management and concluſion of my own intricate affairs, any more than thoſe " of my conſtituents, without evident riſk of deſtruction to the whole, from miſmanage- " ment, as well as the riſk of loſing whatever might be left behind after the rains, by

being recalled from ſubordinate factories to the preſidency, indulgences of time were allowed them, with the politeneſs due to gentlemen, unattended with inſults or forcible ſeizures.

Before

" troubles which may be apprehended in the country. So that it would be highly injurious, not only to my own family concerns, but to thoſe of gentlemen concerned with me, to abandon them now, ſo near the period of their concluſion, when a very ſmall additional indulgence of time, no longer than to the beginning of *October* next, would enable me to finiſh, and to tranſport my effects and family to the Preſidency; which I have hitherto found abſolutely impracticable, notwithſtanding my moſt earneſt endeavours.

" I trouble you, my Lord and Gentlemen, with this, otherwiſe needleſs detail of the difficulties I labour and have laboured under, in order to ſhew what my delay has been owing to, and to ſatisfy you that I have been in no ſhape wilfully culpable.

" The ſevere orders of your honourable board have flung me into a dilemma, which preſents me with nothing but ruin. If I quit my affairs, as ordered, it is evident ruin. If I do not, and you, my Lord and Gentlemen, be inexorable, I am then diſgraced by your honourable board, which is equivalent to ruin.

" But as clemency is no way derogatory of power, I flatter myſelf that, in conſequence of my foregoing repreſentation, you will ſtill be pleaſed to indulge me with leave to ſtay at *Banáras* to the beginning of *October* next, and only put your rigorous reſolves in execution upon my exceeding that time.

" Be aſſured, my Lord and Gentlemen, that nothing but this fatal dilemma would force me to run even the riſk of your diſpleaſure, much leſs actually to incur it. And when it is conſidered, that I have now ſeveral years faithfully ſerved the Company; that my preſent tranſgreſſion has not been wilful, but unavoidable; and that the ſame and greater indulgences have been frequently allowed to other gentlemen in ſimilar ſituations, I am bold to hope ſomething may be remitted from the ſeverity of your determination, and that you will indulgently gratify my requeſt.

I am, *&c.*

Banáras, *the 11th Auguſt* 1766. (Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS."

The proceedings of the board at *Calcutta*, upon the foregoing letter, were as follow:

At a Conſultation held the 25th *Auguſt* 1766, preſent,

The Right Honourable *Robert* Lord *Clive*, Preſident,
Harry Verelſt,
Randolph Marriott,
Claud Ruſſell,
William Alderſey, and
Thomas Kelſall, Eſquires.

" Received a letter from the Reſident at *Banáras*, dated the 12th inſtant, acknowledging the receipt of our letter of the 28th *ultimo*, incloſing a letter from Mr. *Bolts*, in anſwer to our orders regarding him; acquainting us, that as he is not ſenſible it is in his power to comply with that part of our inſtructions which requires him to take care Mr. *Bolts* does not exceed the time preſcribed, he ſhall wait our further commands before he ventures to take a ſtep in ſo delicate an affair.

" Read a letter from Mr. *Bolts*, incloſed in the above letter from Mr. *Sage*, ſetting forth his reaſons for having ſtayed at *Banáras* beyond the time we limited him to, and

" requeſting

Before this period, many other appointments, beſides thoſe already mentioned, were made of junior ſervants to ſuperior ſtations, to the prejudice of the writer: by which it evidently appeared, that the Right Honourable Lord and his Committee deemed him, as they had repreſented the reſt of the ſervants, deficient in integrity or abilities. But although they ſeemed carefully to avoid giving him an opportunity for exerting ſuch poor talents as they thought him poſſeſſed of, in any of the Company's commercial departments, yet they ſhewed it was their opinion, that he had ſufficient capacity and integrity for the adminiſtration of juſtice in one of his Majeſty's Courts of Juſtice in *Calcutta*; becauſe, on the 11th of *Auguſt* 1766, they elected and appointed him one of the Judges in the Mayor's Court.

While ſuch indignities and perſecutions as have been deſcribed were daily impoſed on the writer, it was impoſſible for him as a man unconſcious of guilt either in his public or private capacity, to continue any longer in the ſervice of the Company. Soon after his return to the Preſidency he therefore begged leave to reſign their commercial ſervice, in a letter, addreſſed to the Right Honourable the Preſident and Council, dated the 10th of *November* 1766; in which, notwithſtanding the injuries he had received, he did not forget the

" requeſting us to indulge him with a longer ſtay, to ſettle his own and the affairs of his " conſtituents, which he repreſents to be extremely intricate.

" *Agreed*, We write in anſwer to Mr. *Sage*, that we did not imagine him ſo little ac- " quainted with the nature of our orders as to be doubtful how far it behoved him to put " them in execution. That notwithſtanding what Mr. *Bolts* alleges in his letter, we are " well aſſured that, inſtead of making it his buſineſs to ſettle his affairs at *Banáras*, " which was the ſole reaſon of his being permitted to return thither, he entered into new " concerns. That he is therefore to inform Mr. *Bolts* we are determined our orders ſhall " not be trifled with, and that he is to conſider himſelf as ſuſpended the Company's ſer- " vice from the 28th of this month, for not complying with our poſitive injunctions for " his return to *Calcutta*. However, in conſideration of the *plauſible* reaſons he now for " the firſt time aſſigns, he is further to acquaint Mr. *Bolts*, that provided he arrives at " *Calcutta* by the 10th *October*, his ſuſpenſion will be taken off; and if for this purpoſe " he does not leave *Banáras* by the 1ſt of *October*, that he is to *ſend him away by force*."

With reſpect to the new concerns which, in this letter, the board ſay they were aſſured the writer had entered into, there appeared nothing on their records to juſtify the aſſertion. It is therefore probable, that this paragraph was occaſioned by ſome private letter which the Preſident had received from his Agent, Mr. *Chamier*, at *Banáras*, who was one of the perſons that had in view the getting poſſeſſion of the writer's trade and manufactories. All the writer's concerns in thoſe provinces, at this time, were of old ſtanding; but it muſt be remarked, that if the board's aſſertion had been true, the writer was then under no public prohibition or reſtraint, with reſpect to his mercantile tranſactions: nor could any ſuch have been legally impoſed on him.

reſpect

reſpect due to ſuperiors. The following is an extract from his letter to the board on this occaſion.

" To the Right Honourable *Robert* Lord *Clive*, Preſident and Go-
" vernor, and to the Gentlemen of the Council at *Fort William*.

" My Lord and Gentlemen,

" I propoſe going to *Europe* as ſoon as I can ſettle my private
" concerns, which buſineſs, together with the employment to
" which your Lordſhip, *&c.* Gentlemen have been pleaſed to ap-
" point me, as Alderman in the Mayor's Court, will ingroſs the
" whole of my time. I therefore hereby requeſt permiſſion to reſign
" the ſervice of the honourable Company. Permit me at the ſame
" time to aſſure my honourable maſters, that I ſhall ever moſt hear-
" tily rejoice at the continued proſperity of the Company, and retain
" a due ſenſe of gratitude for the independent fortune which their
" ſervice has enabled me to acquire; a fortune which, I glory, has
" been gained by *induſtry and lawful trade alone*. Permit me further,
" my Lord and Gentlemen, to add my ſincereſt wiſhes for the ſuc-
" ceſs of your endeavours to ſecure the permanency of the great and
" advantageous acquiſitions which our honourable employers at this
" time enjoy; and believe me to be, with the greateſt reſpect,

My Lord and Gentlemen,

Fort William, Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,
the 10th Nov. 1766. (Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS."

" To which letter the following anſwer was returned:

" To Mr. *William Bolts*.

" SIR,

" I am directed by the Right Honourable the Preſident and
" Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to them of the
" 10th inſtant, and to acquaint you, that your requeſt to reſign the
" honourable Company's ſervice is complied with.

I am, SIR,

Fort William, Your moſt obedient ſervant,
the 26th Nov. 1766. (Signed) WILLIAM ALDERSEY, Sec."

It

It was about this time, according to * Mr. *Verelſt*, that the writer, a † *virtuous zealot*, a ‡ *ſturdy champion*, and a ‖ *patriot*, commenced *his furious zeal for reformation*. But while it is ſubmitted to the judgment of the candid reader, how far any part of his conduct, which is now wholly laid before him, merits ſuch reflections, the writer will proceed to ſay a few neceſſary words on the alterations which had taken effect, about this period, in the ſtate of the private inland-trade; as particularly connected with his own caſe.

When the Right Honourable Lord *Clive* and his Committee entered upon regulating the inland-trade of the country, the writer, as hath been ſhewn, was at *Banáras*. It was impoſſible to conceive the meaning of the various orders which they iſſued at that period, reſpecting commerce, in the *Bengal* provinces. But as, by the agreements of *Auguſt* 1765, they had pretended to reſtore the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah* and the Rajah *Bulwantſing* to the poſſeſſion of the reſpective diſtricts which they were pleaſed to aſſign them, if any faith could be placed in ſuch agreements, thoſe Princes were to be left to the government of their own territories; and conſequently the rules or LAWS of the Preſidency at *Calcutta* could no more be ſuppoſed to extend to *Banáras*, than to § *China*; whether they acted as Governor and Council, or as Nabob of *Bengal*.

But all the writer could know of their orders upon this ſubject, at that diſtance from *Calcutta*, was from vague and uncertain reports. Their firſt ſtep had been the ordering of all free-merchants, together with all *European*, *Armenian*, and *Portugueſe* agents, from the interior country down to the Preſidency. The writer knew that Mr. *Verelſt*, then a member of the Select Committee, did, in the year 1764, give

* *Verelſt*'s View, &c. page 39. † Ibid. page 20.
‡ Ibid. page 21. ‖ Ibid. page 40.

§ This appears ſo ſelf-evident a concluſion, that it would be abſurd to require an argument in ſupport of it. Nevertheleſs, to ſhew what were the opinions of other old and able ſervants of the Company, in a caſe exactly ſimilar, we will here inform the reader, that when the Nabob *Coſſim Ally Khawn* attempted, by means of his Fowzdar, or Governor at *Rangamatty* (a place bordering on the kingdom of *Aſſam*) to lay reſtraints on the trade of the Company's ſervants into and from that kingdom, the following were the words of a letter from Meſſrs. *Cartier*, *Senior*, *Leyceſter*, and *French*, then at *Dacca*, to the Preſident and Council at *Calcutta*, dated the 10th *January* 1763, on that occaſion:

"With reſpect to *Aſſam*, we muſt beg leave to obſerve, that the Nabob, or his Fowzdar "of *Rangamatty*, can have no more right to regulate the terms of our commerce with the "natives of that country, than with thoſe of *China*. All the power he exerts over our gomaſ- "tahs is arbitrary and oppreſſive; and neither juſtice nor ancient cuſtoms can warrant ſuch "abuſes, or regulate his officers in the collecting of taxes, although the whole direction is "now referred to his Daroga (an under-officer) at *Rangamatty*. No duties have ever yet "been paid on lacks, muggadhooties, and other goods brought from *Aſſam*," &c. &c.

his * opinion in the ſtrongeſt terms in favour of employing *European* agents in preference to the natives. There was no proof of bad conduct given againſt the gentlemen recalled; and if any had been guilty of miſdemeanors, it was unjuſt to involve the innocent in puniſhment with the guilty. Moſt of them reſided at the Company's ſubordinate ſettlements, within the juriſdiction of his Majeſty's charter of juſtice, and under the eyes of their Chiefs and Councils; over whom alſo they, in their turns, were the moſt natural and beſt checks. Beſides, the Preſident and Council at *Calcutta* had it in their power, through the nominal Nabobs of *Bengal*, to make and inforce what regulations they pleaſed, to prevent ſuch abuſes as might be dreaded, or to inflict puniſhments for thoſe practiſed. It was therefore difficult to comprehend the propriety of ſuch a meaſure.

So likewiſe, when they made what they were pleaſed to term their † regulations for the provinces of *Bengal*, *Bahar*, and *Oriſſa*, they appointed *Juggut Seat*, *Cooſhaulchund*, and *Odweichund*, "CHIEFS OF "TRADE," with immenſe annual ſalaries: but what the buſineſs of thoſe appointments was intended to be, or what the young *Seats* tranſacted in conſequence thereof, was never known to the Public; nor did they or the Company ever receive a ſingle ‡ inſtance of ſervice therefrom. At one time, a law was made prohibiting § "*any of the* "*inhabitants from going beyond the limits of ten miles round* Calcutta, "*without firſt applying for and obtaining the* COMPANY'S PERMISSION." At another time, no merchant was permitted to purchaſe goods at the manufacturing towns without a perwânah, or licenſe from the Governor.

The objects of the Committee, in eſtabliſhing theſe different regulations, were alleged to be the advantage of the Company and the good of the native people. But how the application of ſuch regulations could be made productive of thoſe ends would be difficult to reconcile to ſound reaſon or experience. The real wiſdom of ſuch proceedings, therefore, apparently conſiſted in the ſagacious and virtuous governing-party's ſecuring every advantage of dealing to themſelves: and indeed correſpondent with the principles of ſuch policy did the effects of their practice really prove.

In the general letter to *Bengal*, dated the 8th *February* 1764, the Court of Directors, after obſerving that the diſputes and difficulties

* See Appendix A, Num. IX. page 25.
† Reports, vol. III. page 421.
‡ See the 41ſt paragraph of the letter from the Directors, Appendix, page 255.
§ At a Conſultation held at *Calcutta*, on the 24th *March* 1766.

which had occurred with the country-government, appeared evidently to have been occaſioned by the unwarrantable manner of carrying on *the private trade of their ſervants*, in prejudice to the Nabob, both with reſpect to the authority and revenues juſtly due to him, were pleaſed to direct,

* Par. 22. "That as our firmaun-privileges, of being duty-free, "are certainly confined to *the Company's export and import trade only*, "you are to have recourſe to and keep within the liberty therein ſti-"pulated and given, as nearly as can poſſibly be done; but as by "the connivance of the *Bengal* government, and † conſtant uſage, "the Company's covenant-ſervants have had the ſame benefit as the "Company with reſpect to their *export and import trade*, we are "willing they ſhould enjoy the ſame, and that duſtucks be granted "accordingly: but herein the moſt effectual care is to be taken, that "no exceſſes or abuſes are ſuffered, upon any account whatſoever, "nor duſtucks granted to any others than our covenant-ſervants, as "aforeſaid; however, notwithſtanding any of our former orders, no "writer is to have the benefit of a duſtuck until he has ſerved out his "full time of five years in that ſtation: *free-merchants and others are "not intitled to, or to have the benefit of, the Company's duſtucks, but "are to pay the uſual duties.*

Par. 24. "We are under the neceſſity of giving the before-"mentioned orders, in order to preſerve the tranquillity of the coun-"try, and harmony with the Nabob. They are rather outlines "than complete directions, which you are to add to and improve "upon, agreeable to the ſpirit of, and our meaning in them, as "may be neceſſary to anſwer the deſired purpoſes; and if any per-"ſon or perſons are guilty of a contravention of them, be they "whomſoever they may, if our own ſervants, they are to be diſ-"miſſed the ſervice; if others, the Company's protection is to be "withdrawn, and you have the liberty of *ſending them forthwith to "England*, if you judge the nature of the offence requires it."

By the above letter it does not appear, that the Directors choſe to advert to the nature of the Company's own trade under the firmaun.

But the reaſons urged againſt carrying on the private trade of their ſervants under that privilege operated with redoubled force againſt their own. At all the manufacturing towns, the gomaſtahs of the

* See Reports, vol. III. page 506.

† It has already been ſhewn, that the privilege of duſtucks was allowed to the Company's covenant-ſervants, by the expreſs orders of the Court of Directors, contained in their general letter of the 17th of *June* 1748. See page 7.

Company had the preference; for no private gomaſtah could do any buſineſs among the weavers till they were ſerved. They alone decided all diſputes; and it was under the ſanction of their authority that all oppreſſions were practiſed, wherever there was a Company's gomaſtah eſtabliſhed.

Still wilfully loſing ſight of the truth, in purſuit of ideas of commerce which had never been thought of before the year 1764, and at a period when the Company ingroſſed almoſt the whole produce of the country, the Directors, in a letter to *Bengal*, dated the 26th *April* 1765, thus ingeniouſly argue: "Treaties of commerce are "underſtood to be *for the mutual benefit of the contracting parties*. Is "it then poſſible to ſuppoſe, that *the Court of Dehly*, by confirming "the privilege of trading free of cuſtoms, could mean an *inland-trade* "in the commodities of *their own country*, to the detriment of their "revenues, and the ruin of their own merchants?"

In ſupport of the new and unintelligible principles, at this period adopted by the *Eaſt India* Directors, and of the meaſures purſued by the noble Lord *Clive* and his Select Committee at *Bengal*, with reſpect to the *inland-trade*, his Lordſhip alſo * ſpeaks thus to the honourable Houſe of Commons:

"Many years ago, an expenſive embaſſy was ſent to *Dehly*, to "obtain certain grants and privileges from the GREAT MOGUL, in "favour of the *Eaſt India* Company, and amongſt others was ob"tained the privilege of trading duty-free. The ſervants were in"dulged with this privilege under the ſanction of the Company's "name. The Company never carried on any inland-trade. Their "commerce has been confined to *exports* and *imports only*. It is im"poſſible that the ſervants ſhould have a more extenſive right than "the Company itſelf ever had: yet they claimed a privilege of "carrying on an *inland-trade* duty-free. The abſurdity of a privi"lege ſo ruinous to the natives, and ſo prejudicial to the revenues "of the country, is obvious. At the revolution, in 1757, no ſuch "claim was ſet up; *nor was any ſuch trade carried on publicly*, or to "my knowledge, during my government, which ended in the be"ginning of the year 1760."

Was it neceſſary to inform the Courts who had the direction of *Eaſt India* affairs in the years 1765, 1766, and 1767, that the goods provided for the Company, in *Bengal*, were all *commodities of that country*? That every one of thoſe commodities is occaſionally

* See his Lordſhip's printed ſpeech of the 30th *March* 1772, page 12.

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an export? Or that an exemption from duties upon their inveſtment, which comprehended the greateſt part of all the goods produced in the country, was *a diminution of the revenues of* THE COURT OF DEHLY, and tended to the "ruin of *their merchants?*"

After having read the various orders of the Courts of *Eaſt India* Directors, from the earlieſt period of their acquiſition of privileges, authorizing their ſervants and others to trade under their duſtucks duty-free; after knowing what numbers of duſtucks were granted for ſuch private trade, previous to the year 1760; and after peruſing the TREATY made by Lord *Clive* in *June* 1757, on ſetting up *Meer Jaffier Ally Khawn*, in which ſuch immenſe ſums were ſtipulated for reſtitution of loſſes ſuſtained by the private merchants of *Calcutta*: ſhall the honourable Houſe of Commons be ſeriouſly told, that there was no ſuch *inland-trade* carried on in *Bengal* before the year 1760?

Was it neceſſary to inform the noble Lord, who, in the years 1765 and 1766, had himſelf been, in fact, the GREAT MOGUL, if not the EAST INDIA COMPANY, that the mutual relation, if ever there exiſted any, between the "*contracting parties*," was then at an end; and that in the ſituation of *Hindoſtan* at that and the ſubſequent periods, with reſpect to *Bengal* and it's dependencies, the firmaun was become a piece of waſte paper?

Here the line ſhould have been drawn; for what might have been beneficial for the Company and their ſervants to encroach under the pretended ſanction of the firmaun, at a former period, became ruinous from the moment in which they took the ſovereignty of *Bengal* upon themſelves. It was to the freedom of trade that *Bengal* owed her ancient proſperity: and it has been principally owing to the want of that freedom, among other cauſes, to which we muſt aſcribe the juſtneſs of Mr. * *Becher*'s remark, that the condition of the people of *Bengal* has been worſe ſince the acceſſion of the Company to the Dewannee than it was before.

To peruſe all the arguments of parties contending with different views, on the ſubject of the *inland-trade* in *Bengal*, during the time in which the Company were heſitating whether there ſhould be a

* *Extract of a letter from* Richard Becher, *Eſq; a member of the Select Committee at* Bengal, *and then Reſident at the* Durbar, *to Governor* Verelſt *at* Calcutta; *dated the* 24*th* June 1769.

"It muſt give pain to an *Engliſhman* to have reaſon to think, that ſince the acceſſion of "the Company to the Dewannee, the condition of the people of this country has been "worſe than it was before; and yet I am afraid the fact is undoubted."

Nabob, or no Nabob, would be an endleſs and unprofitable taſk. The reader not poſſeſſed of local knowledge of *India* would be perplexed by oppoſite ſentiments and authorities, equally weighty in appearance. The Courts of Directors in former times were of one opinion, in modern times of another. In the year 1760, Major *Carnac*, Mr. *Verelſt*, and the whole Council, were of opinions different from Mr. *Vanſittart* and Mr. *Haſtings*, whoſe ſentiments were approved by the Directors. Soon afterwards, Mr. *Scrafton*, and the other Directors, differed from Mr. *Vanſittart*. At another period, Lord *Clive*, General *Carnac*, and Mr. *Verelſt* differed from the reſt of the Council, and the Directors afterwards differed from them all.

In ſupport of their favourite temporary ſyſtems, the parties have ſometimes made diſtinctions without differences, to perplex the ſubject. Thus we ſee in the noble Lord's ſpeech, already cited, the Honourable Houſe of Commons were told, "that the Com-"pany never carried on any inland-trade," and that "their com-"merce had been confined to *exports and imports only*."

It is true, that the goods which the Company imported were all ſold at the Preſidency of *Calcutta*, and thoſe they bought in the interior country were all brought to *Calcutta*, and exported. But in both caſes they have conſtantly given their duſtucks, to the perſons who bought their goods at *Calcutta* to tranſport and ſell them, duty-free, wherever they pleaſed; and to the perſons from whom they bought their goods, to bring them, in like manner, from the places where they lay, or were provided: as is particularly expreſſed in the letter from the Directors, of the * 17th *June* 1748.

Is not this, to all intents and purpoſes, carrying on an "*inland-*"*trade?*" or where is the REAL MERCHANT who can draw a fair diſtinction? If in bringing, or carrying goods from or to a place diſtant three hundred miles from *Calcutta*, a merchant, half-way on his journey, ſhould find a demand for his commodities, the man who ſells them on that ſpot is doing as great a ſervice to the country, as he who conveys them to a port for final exportation. But in the articles of ſalt and grain, againſt dealing in which the greateſt and moſt futile objections have been raiſed; the inland-trader does far greater ſervice to a manufacturing-country than an exporter of thoſe commodities. Yet have we ſeen even *Eaſt India* Directors affect to adopt this modern diſtinction, of articles for

* See page 7.

inland-

inland-trade, and articles for *foreign exportation*; between which no line can ever be uſefully drawn in *Bengal*, or indeed any where elſe. Nay, what is more ridiculous, while acting as Sovereigns of that country, we have ſeen them gravely pretending to accommodate ſuch regulations to the intention and ſpirit of the Firmaun!

In the perplexity, therefore, in which this ſubject has been ſtudiouſly involved, the reader will naturally have recourſe to the firſt ſimple principles of policy and commerce, which muſt be invariably the ſame in all places and times; conformably to which, every man has the right to buy and ſell what and where he pleaſes, paying all legal duties, and ſubmitting to all lawful reſtrictions: and ſuch is well known to have ever been the practice in *Hindoſtan*.

The meaning, therefore, of the various extraordinary commercial-regulations made at the Preſidency of *Calcutta*, in the years 1765 and 1766, of which we ſhall treat more fully in a ſubſequent chapter, being quite incomprehenſible to a merchant, or indeed to any other man, whoſe mind was leſs illuminated than a member's of the Select Committee, it was, conſequently, to the firſt uncorrupted principles of policy, juſtice, and commerce, that the writer had recourſe. When at *Banáras*, a conſiderable time before he had any thoughts of quitting the Company's ſervice or of diſcontinuing buſineſs, he therefore ſettled a plan with the *Rajah Bulwantſing*, within whoſe territories his trade latterly was chiefly proſecuted, for carrying it on upon a footing with the natives, and paying the eſtabliſhed duties. Theſe were the engagements to which he was principally indebted for that favour and protection which he and his people afterwards experienced from the *Rajah*; and to ſuch conduct did he owe the preference in dealings, which the natives of the *Ghazipoor* province, when left to act freely for themſelves, always did give him and his agents, to any other gomaſtahs of *Europeans*. From this conduct was he likewiſe enabled to procure money from the merchants of *Banáras*, to any amount, at the intereſt of from five to ſeven *per cent. per annum*, where afterwards it could not be procured by others for even twelve *per cent.* and it was from this conduct that the writer, after his reſignation, without the influence of a Company's-ſervant, and in ſpite of repeated private orders from the Preſident and members of the Council, for the obſtruction of his buſineſs, was enabled ſucceſsfully to proſecute legal trade, till military force was employed to ſeize the perſons of his agents, and rob him of his property.

It has been already ſhewn, that the firſt great man with whom the writer's trade interfered, was the noble Lord *Clive*, who right honourably deprived him of the benefits of his own diſcovery.

The ſecond ſet of gentlemen to whom his trade was offenſive, were thoſe concerned in the monopoly of cotton imported from *Surat*, of which ſome account has been * already given. The cotton imported by the writer, from the weſtern countries, was little inferior to that from *Surat*; and the ſtream of the *Ganges* flowing conſtantly and with great ſtrength eaſtward, into the *Bengal* provinces, his cotton could be tranſported from *Banáras* in ten or twelve days, to diſtances that would require ſix weeks or two months for its conveyance ſo far up that river, by towing againſt the rapidity of the current. The writer, therefore, had evidently the advantage of all the inland-markets.

A third ſet, with whom, unfortunately for the writer, his trade interfered, were Mr. *Rumbold* and the gentlemen of the *Patna*-factory. This was in the articles of the Company's ſtaple-imports, and in ophium.

The merchants from the high country, who had been uſed to reſort to *Patna*, could now be ſupplied with woollen goods, and other ſtaple-commodities at *Banáras* and *Mirzapore*, and thereby ſave themſelves the expence and trouble of a journey of one hundred and twenty miles. With reſpect to ophium, the *Patna*-gentlemen had been uſed to ſupply the market of *Calcutta* with that commodity, which was ever conſidered as a capital part of their profits. No other province produced the genuine ophium required by the traders to *Mallacca* and the eaſtern iſlands; for the other ſpecies, from *Baghelpore*, *Purnea*, and *Rungpore*, was in bad repute. The diſtricts wherein the writer's ophium was made, were only ſeparated from the *Patna*-province by the river *Caramnaſſa*. There could, therefore, be no doubt entertained of the genuine goodneſs of the ophium, ſo far as it depended upon the ſoil and climate; although in the firſt ſeaſon it might prove ſomewhat defective, from ſuch difficulties as generally occur in new undertakings of importance. The *Patna*-gentlemen, however, were ſurprized, in *November* 1766, by the writer's importing three hundred cheſts at *Calcutta*, before they had brought a ſingle one to market, and at a time too when it ſold for four hundred *Arcot* rupees *per* cheſt.

A fourth ſet of gentlemen of the Council, with General *Smith* at the head of them, although at that time it was unknown to the

* Page 30.

writer,

writer, had formed a plan for diſpoſſeſſing him of his trade in ſalt-petre, as will hereafter be ſhewn.

It may be here neceſſary to inform the reader, that it was ever the cuſtom for thoſe covenant-ſervants, who had reſigned the ſervice of the Company in *Bengal*, to be permitted to reſide there, unmoleſted, as long as they pleaſed, in the capacity, and with the privileges of free-merchants. Moreover, the writer being a judge in the Mayor's Court, agreeably to the royal charter, he was expreſly inveſted with the right of reſidence in *Bengal* for life, under the protection of the Company, and was irremoveable from his judicial ſeat, except for legal cauſe. But as ſuch conſtitutional ſecurity was inſufficient for the protection of any man againſt the arbitrary mandates of the moſt noble Preſident, and his ſagacious Council, they were pleaſed to cauſe the following letter to be ſent to him.

" To Mr. *William Bolts*.

" S I R,

" I am directed, by the Right Honourable the Preſident and " Council, to ſignify to you, that *as you have reſigned the Company's* " *ſervice, and cannot claim any title to remain longer in* India, *you are* " *poſitively not to engage further in commercial concerns, and to prepare* " *to embark for* England in one of the Company's returning ſhips " of this ſeaſon.

" I am, S I R,

" *Fort William*, " Your moſt obedient ſervant,
the 5th Jan. 1767." " (Signed) WILLIAM ALDERSEY, Sec."

To manifeſt more fully the iniquity of this order, it is proper here to remark, that when any *European* merchant in *Bengal* reſolves to quit trade, in order to embark for *Europe*, it neceſſarily requires two or more years to liquidate and finiſh his commercial concerns; for which purpoſe it had likewiſe been the *invariable* practice to allow the ſervant, ſo reſigning, the privilege even of duſtucks, for twelve months from the time of his reſignation. Whereas, to have complied with that order, the writer muſt have embarked within two months, as no ſhips would have been diſpatched at a later period of the ſeaſon.

There never had been an inſtance of ſuch an order being given, in *Bengal*, at any former period, from the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Company to that day. Their ſuperior ſervants never before preſumed to think they had a right to order any man to deſiſt from

trading, or in other words, from purſuing the means of his exiſtence, who was lawfully reſident in *India*. The authorities already produced, in the preceding chapter, fully prove ſuch an order to have been as repugnant to the ſpirit and letter of the regulations eſtabliſhed by former Courts of Directors, as it was contrary to natural-juſtice. Even the Directors themſelves could have no right ſuddenly to withdraw the privilege for which the writer had expreſly covenanted with them, on his going out to *India*; and much leſs could their ſervants poſſeſs ſuch an authority. But had the Directors even poſſeſſed ſuch a right, yet, as hath been before obſerved, nothing could have rendered an order of that kind warrantable, from the Preſident and Council, but the official ſignatures of thirteen, or more Directors of the Company; and that too *for legal reaſons, expreſly aſſigned.*

Although the writer was fully ſenſible of the illegality of the proceeding, he did not enter upon that ſubject with the Preſident and Council. Being at that time ſeriouſly reſolved to quit buſineſs, and return to *Europe* as ſoon as it might be in his power, he was unwilling to add ſtrength to the unmerited malice of his perſecutors, from envy at his ſucceſs. Beſides, he was actually afraid of ſudden violence, from the treatment he had already met with, and the recent examples before him.—Many of the ſuperior ſervants of the Company had been condemned unheard by the Committee.—The inhabitants, both natives and *Europeans*, were frequently ſeized, and arbitrarily confined by military-force, within the *Britiſh* ſettlement, without any accuſation, or form of legal proceſs.—Sometimes ſuch impriſonments were made under the pretence of their being for the advantage of *the country-government*; at others, of the Company's. But any pretence was thought ſufficient for impriſonment or releaſement, as either quadrated with the views of the Select Committee, or even thoſe of their meaneſt inſtruments.

Nundcomár, who, while prime miniſter to the Nabob, had, like others, been brought down to *Calcutta* and there confined by the former Preſident and Council, upon an accuſation of *treaſonable* correſpondence with the enemies of the Company, had been ſet at liberty, without any trial, *becauſe* he was found a neceſſary tool to the Select Committee.

Cayem Beg, a favourite and general alſo of the Nabob *Najim al Dowlah*'s, was ſeized * at *Murſhedabad*, brought down and con-

* See Lord *Clive*'s letter to the Nabob *Najim al Dowlah*, dated the 6th *July* 1765. Appendix B. Num. I. page 286.

fined

fined at *Calcutta, for the intereſt of that Nabob*; *becauſe*, as was alleged, he had frightened the miniſters who had been impoſed upon his maſter.

Groups of *Engliſhmen* were ſuddenly ſent to priſon; *becauſe it was alleged* they had ſold ſpirituous liquors.

Several *Engliſh* gentlemen were ſhut up in their * houſes, for the purpoſe of being ſent, when convenient, by force to *England*; *becauſe* they had formerly been military officers, and in a general reſignation had given up their commiſſions, in a manner which the Committee deemed mutinous, though they were then under no covenants for ſervice.

Mooteram, a *Hindoo*, and man of family, who had been lately appointed Fowzdar of *Hoogly*, through the intereſt of Mr. *John Johnſtone*, one of the Council, together with *Buſſuntroy*, his dewan, were ſuddenly † impriſoned; *becauſe* the Committee were pleaſed to judge they were deeply concerned in the pecuniary tranſactions

* Appendix A. Num. XX. page 126.

† *Extract from the Proceedings of the Select Committee, held at* Calcutta *the 7th of* June 1765.

Preſent, The Right Honourable *Robert* Lord *Clive*, Preſident,
William Brightwell Sumner,
Harry Verelſt, and
Francis Sykes, Eſquires.

" Upon advice being received, that certain bills, ſpecified in *Mahommed Reza Khawn*'s " atteſted accounts, and there ſaid to be received, had been ſince offered back to the " ſaid *Mahommed Reza Khawn*, by one *Buſſuntroy*, employed for that purpoſe by " *Mooteram*, Fowzdar of *Hoogly*.

" The Committee, judging ſuch voluntary reſtitution to be of a very extraordinary " nature, and ſuſpecting it was deſigned to ſcreen *Mooteram* from detection, and cover " tranſactions with which it might highly concern the public to be acquainted,

" *Reſolve*, that the ſaid *Buſſuntroy* be ſeized, brought before the Committee, and " ſworn to anſwer truly to ſuch queſtions as ſhall be propoſed to him."

On the 8th *June* 1765.

" It appearing from the evidences of *Mahommed Reza Khawn* and *Juggut Seat*, " and alſo from the depoſition of *Buſſuntroy*, that *Mooteram*, Fowzdar of *Hoogly*, was " deeply concerned in all the pecuniary tranſactions ſpecified in thoſe evidences, bills to " a great amount having been drawn in his favour,

" The Committee *reſolve*, that he be ſent for, ſworn, and examined in their pre- " ſence, and alſo, that he be confronted by *Mahommed Reza Khawn* and *Juggut Seat*, " in order that it may appear with certainty, whether the ſaid *Mooteram* was autho- " rized to demand money of the *Seats*, or whether he preſumed to proſtitute the cha- " racters of the gentlemen of the deputation, by making uſe of their names, without the " ſanction of their expreſs authority."

between the Nabob and the *Engliſh* deputies, and were going to make a voluntary reſtituſion of an improper and extraordinary nature.

Ramnaut, another *Hindoo*, and a merchant, who had acted as banyan, or dewan to Mr. *George Gray*, likewiſe a member of the Council, was alſo ſuddenly ſeized and impriſoned by the Committee; *becauſe* it was alleged he was * "a moſt notorious offender," who had been guilty of extortion and other great crimes in the interior country. And although thoſe crimes were ſaid, by the Preſident and Committee, to have been committed at *Maldah*, within the Nabob's juriſdiction, they found it convenient to keep the man confined many months within their own at *Calcutta*.

The reaſons aſſigned by the noble Lord *Clive* and the Select Committee, as well in juſtification of this firſt impriſonment of *Ramnaut*, as for the neceſſity of employing military force on ſuch occaſions; with the arguments of his Lordſhip's opponents, may be ſeen at large in the † Appendix. Notwithſtanding artful pretences, a diſcerning and unprejudiced reader, on reference thereto, will readily perceive, that the object of the Committee in their impriſonment of both thoſe *Hindoos*, was, in ſupport of their ſyſtem, more for the extortion of evidence from the priſoners againſt the gentlemen of the former Council, than the good of the Company, or the advantage of the country.

But it is not the writer's intention to examine into the diſputes that ſubſiſted between the gentlemen of the former Council and the Select Committee. All he means to infer and ſhew, applicable to his own caſe is, that in the *Britiſh* ſettlement of *Calcutta*, at the period under conſideration, there was no ſecurity of perſons or property; that even the outward forms of juſtice, which are uſually preſerved, for appearance-ſake, in the worſt of governments, were not attended to; and that the Right Honourable Preſident, his Committee and Council, had ſet the laws of *England* at abſolute defiance, proclaiming they were not bound by them in *India*, and acting accordingly by arbitrary will.

The noble Lord had ‡ declared, that he would not ſubmit to the

* Appendix A. page 73.

† Ibid. Letter A. Num. XVI. particularly page 75, &c.

‡ *Extract from the Caſe of Mr.* William Vertue.

" Mr. *Vertue* intended to proceed againſt Lord *Clive*, but his Lordſhip refuſing to " ſubmit to the juriſdiction of the courts there, Mr. *Vertue* could get no attorney to be concerned

the juriſdiction of the *Britiſh* Courts of Juſtice in *Bengal*: and at a meeting, in which the matter had been ſolemnly diſcuſſed, Mr. *Verelſt*, and the reſt of the juſtices, gave it as their unanimous opinion, that * "OPPRESSIONS COMMITTED BY THE PRESIDENT "AND COUNCIL WERE NOT COGNIZABLE BY ANY CIVIL AU- "THORITY IN INDIA."

It is not, therefore, ſtraining our argument to aſſert, that the writer, or any other inhabitant of the *Britiſh* ſettlements in *Bengal*, who at that time had diſputed the legality of their orders, however oppreſſive or illegal, would have had more to fear from the *diſintereſted ſtate-craft* of the *immaculate* Select Committee, *who had in view* no other objects than the temporal proſperity of the *Eaſt India* Company, and the welfare of the natives; than any ſubject, in the moſt bigotted ſtate of *Europe*, during the darkeſt times of ſuperſtition, ever had to dread from the *religious prieſt-craft* of an *holy* inquiſition, *who never had in view* any other objects than the glory of a merciful GOD, and the ſpiritual happineſs of mankind!

"concerned for him, as appears by letters in his cuſtody, which he received from four "different attornies on the occaſion; of which that from Mr. *George Sparks* is the "moſt particular, ſaying, "That on the 21ſt *October* 1766, he waited on Lord *Clive*, "and acquainted him, that Mr. *Vertue* had deſired he would bring an action of treſ- "paſs, for aſſault and falſe impriſonment, againſt Lord *Clive* and all perſons concerned "therein; and that Lord *Clive*'s anſwer was, *that if he had injured Mr.* Vertue, THE "KING'S BENCH *was open to him*, and that the court there had no authority to call "the Governor, or Council, to account *for any thing they did*, and that he *would not* "*anſwer there*; that he ſuppoſed *Sparks* had read the act of parliament on that head, "and that he adviſed *Sparks to have nothing to ſay to the affair.*"

* See the proceedings of a Bench of Juſtices at *Calcutta* on the 8th of *September* 1766; at which were preſent, *Harry Verelſt*, *Randolph Marriott*, *Hugh Watts*, *Claud. Ruſſell*, *William Alderſey*, *Thomas Kelſall*, and *Charles Ffloyer*, Eſquires. Appendix A. Num. XX. page 129.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

CONTAINING Tranſactions between the late GOVERNING-SERVANTS of the COMPANY in BENGAL and the WRITER; from his being firſt ordered to repair to ENGLAND in *January* 1767, until their Impriſonment, in *March* 1768, of the ARMENIAN MERCHANTS, who acted as his mercantile Agents.

THE writer's reaſons for not entering upon the illegality of the order of the 5th *January* 1767, which he received from Lord *Clive* and his Council, have already been aſſigned. Being anxious to return to *Europe*, he diligently employed himſelf in concluding his mercantile concerns and collecting his outſtanding effects. This, however, it was impoſſible for him to do, without the effectual aſſiſtance of the Preſident and Council. The *country-government*, as the Pageant-Nabob and his pretended miniſters were called, was no other than a deluſion; for the laws of the country had in every reſpect been entirely ſubverted, and all real power aſſumed by the Preſident and Select Committee at *Calcutta*. When, therefore, he found it abſolutely neceſſary to apply for aſſiſtance in liquidating his affairs, the writer addreſſed a reſpectful * letter to the Preſident and Council, in which he gave them a general account of his outſtanding concerns, and expreſſed his chearfulneſs, while bringing them to an end, in ſubmitting to the regulations eſtabliſhed by the Company in thoſe places to which their juriſdiction extended, and to the laws and cuſtoms of *Hindoſtan* in ſuch countries as were independent of their authority.

In the letter referred to, it will be obſerved, that a promiſe was made that the writer would not enter into any new inland-dealings. But this could not be fairly conſtrued to mean, that he ſhould not bring down to *Calcutta* ſuch goods as were already manufactured, and then laying ready for that purpoſe; or to preclude him in the recovery of outſtanding debts, from receiving goods in payment, where his debtors could not pay in money. With the moſt aſſiduous and ſucceſsful application, two years, at

* See Appendix F. Num. I. page 434.

leaſt, would be neceſſary for accompliſhing ſuch tranſactions. But it was a promiſe which the writer made ſolely for his own convenience, no man or ſet of men being affected by it, as parties, or having a legal right to enforce its execution. Nevertheleſs, it was then ſincerely made; but ſo oppreſſive was the poſterior conduct of the Preſident and members of the Council towards him, that by rendering it impoſſible for him to comply with it, they virtually abſolved him from the obligations thereof, and forced his continuance in the country, againſt his inclination; as will be more fully made appear in the courſe of theſe ſheets.

After the expiration of near a month, the Preſident and Select Committee found leiſure to take into conſideration the writer's letter of the 9th *February* 1767; their proceedings whereon are inſerted in the * APPENDIX. Candour can require no ſtronger proof of the ambiguous and undetermined ſtate of the DOUBLE-GOVERNMENT in *Bengal* at that period, than is exhibited in thoſe proceedings; wherein the Preſident and Select Committee direct their *Cutcherry* at *Calcutta* to examine into the claims upon *Zemindars* in the interior country, where it could poſſeſs no juriſdiction. Upon being informed of this determination of the Committee, the writer acquainted their Secretary with the evident inconſiſtency thereof, and thereupon other proceedings relative to this buſineſs were held by the Committee on the † 10th *March* 1767; and he was, in conſequence thereof, informed by a letter from the Secretary, that for the adjuſtment of his claims in the interior provinces, the Preſident would grant perwânahs to the *Indian* Courts of the ſeveral diſtricts where the demands were made; from which he might *appeal to the* MINISTERS AND RESIDENT *at the* Durbar.

In an application which he had had occaſion to make a few months before, the writer had already experienced the appeal to the MINISTERS to be a mere juggle. The occaſion was the ſtoppage of ſome of his boats by an officer, or MINISTER, at *Ragemahl*; who likewiſe extorted one hundred rupees from the boat-people, and would neither releaſe the boats or return the money, without an order from Mr. ‡ *Sykes*, then Reſident at the *Durbar*.

However, in conſequence of this application from the writer to the Committee, Governor *Verelſt* was pleaſed, on the 9th *March*

* See Appendix F. Num. II.
† Ibid. Num. III.
‡ Appendix B. Num. V. page 289.

1767, to give him letters to the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*, and the Rajah *Bulwantſing*, of which he himſelf has given * extracts to the public; but his letters were ſo filled with inſinuations to thoſe Princes, to withdraw future protection, and forbid the further reſidence of the writer's people, that, in a country where the moſt diſtant hint is ſufficient from a man in power to urge the perpetration of any act, the letters he received from Mr. *Verelſt* would have done him infinite prejudice, had he not poſſeſſed the good-will of the Princes to whom they were directed.

The perwânahs to the Rajahs and Zemindars of the country were received a month afterwards. They were under the hands and ſeals of Mr. *Verelſt* and Mr. *Cartier*, and directed in the moſt authoritative ſtyle.—Therein the Select Committee-gentlemen departed from their uſual caution, of acting under the cloak of the Nabob, which had been ſo ſtrongly recommended to them on the † 16th *January* 1767 by Lord *Clive*; which Mr. *Verelſt* and the reſt of the Committee had reſolved, on the ‡ 5th *February* 1767, ſo ſtrictly to adhere to; and of which *judicious* ſyſtem the Court of *Eaſt India* Directors afterwards ſo fully § approved. In theſe perwânahs, the Zemindars were alſo ſtrongly prohibited from permitting the writer to have any dealings or traffick whatever. The Zemindars and other natives were ready to furniſh goods for what they were indebted to him, but they alleged, that they had not ready money ſufficient to pay the extraordinary demands which were made on them for the Company's revenues. Thoſe perwânahs, therefore, remained of no uſe to the writer, who conſequently did not receive the leaſt benefit from Mr. *Verelſt*'s boaſted ‖ *aſſiſtance for the ſettlement of his affairs*.

Equally ineffectual was every other application of the writer's to the Preſident and Council, for aſſiſtance in obtaining payment of his outſtanding debts, which could not be otherwiſe recovered. Upon the Committee's eſtabliſhment of the monopoly of ſalt, beetle-nut, and tobacco, the whole ſyſtem of the government and collections, in thoſe countries which produced ſalt, was ſuddenly reverſed. The Zemindars were prohibited from contracting with, and the

* *Verelſt*'s View, Appendix, page 195.

† See Journals of the Houſe of Commons, vol. XXXIII. page 914.

‡ Ibid. page 915.

§ See a letter from the Court of Directors to the Preſident and Select Committee at *Fort William*, in *Bengal*. Appendix A. Num. XXXI. page 166.

‖ *Verelſt*'s View, page 41.

ſalt-

ſalt-boilers from working for any perſons but thoſe appointed by the Committee. Their ſalt-grounds which, according to ancient cuſtoms, were uſually pledged to the laſt contractor till his balances were worked out, were now forcibly taken from the perſons who alone had a legal-right to diſpoſe of them. The firſt natural conſequence of this innovation could be no other than what happened,—the failure of the Zemindars in the payment of their cuſtomary revenues, as being no longer at liberty to make the moſt of their grounds. Another conſequence was, the depriving of many of the country-merchants, as well as *Europeans*, who had not intereſt with the ruling party, of all proſpect of ever recovering their outſtanding balances.

The firſt application for aſſiſtance in this difficulty, in which the writer was concerned, was * on behalf of Mr. *John Johnſtone*, who had balances due to him in the diſtricts, as called, of *the country-government*, on contracts that had been made before the eſtabliſhment by the Committee, of their excluſive trade in ſalt. This affair was referred, by Mr. *Verelſt* and the Select Committee, to Mr. *Sykes*, then Reſident at the *Durbar*; but was afterwards taken up by Mr. *Verelſt* himſelf, when preſent with Mr. *Sykes* at the *Durbar*; and in a report from thoſe gentlemen, dated † *Mootejil*, the 28th *June* 1767, referred back to Mr. *Verelſt* and the Committee; who, on the ‡ 13th *October* 1767, came to a reſolution, that they could give no aſſiſtance in the recovery of Mr. *Johnſtone*'s balances.

But the nature of ſuch references to *the miniſters and Reſident at the* Durbar will be more fully underſtood by the intelligent reader, when he is informed, that although the Preſident and members of the Select Committee, at this time, did not think THE GOVERNMENT reſponſible for the claims made by other gentlemen, for balances due on their contracts for ſalt, alleging their advances had not been made *on the public account*; they had taken care to ſecure the payment of ſimilar balances due to themſelves and their friends, by a tax levied § upon the natives.

The next application made by the writer, was for the obtaining payment of balances due upon certain ſalt-grounds in the Company's twenty-four pergunnahs, which, in the year 1764, under the ſanction of the orders of the board, when the ſalt-trade was

* Appendix F. Num. IV. page 438.
† Ibid. A. page 159.
‡ Ibid. F. Num. XVI. page 449.
§ Ibid. A. Num. XXXV. page 173.

open to every one, the writer had occupied, and worked jointly with *Charles Stafford Playdell* and *Samuel Middleton*, Eſquires.—The writer being the acting partner in this concern, his agents at *Calcutta*, during his abſence had, in conſequence of certain regulations of the board, ſo early as the 12th *July* 1766, made application for theſe balances to the Collector General, then *William Brightwell Sumner*, Eſq; but without effect.

After the expiration of eight months from the ſaid firſt application, that is, on the 27th *March* 1767, a joint * letter was written on this occaſion from the partners, *Playdell*, *Middleton*, and *Bolts*, to the Preſident and Council.

There was at this time a ſmall demand ſubſiſting againſt the writer, for damaged rice, the remains of what had been provided on the Company's account for the army at *Illahabad*, and which he had bought at a ſale made by the pay-maſter at *Banáras*.—— A difficulty had ariſen relative to the *batta*, or difference of exchange, between the rupees of that province and thoſe of *Calcutta*, on which account this demand had for ſome time lain dormant.

Without taking notice of the application of the 27th *March* 1767, from the partners *Playdell*, *Middleton*, and *Bolts*, the Preſident and Council thought proper to order their Secretary, on the 14th † *April* 1767, to exact from the writer full payment of their demand againſt him, for damaged rice; and ſo very preſſing were they on this trifling affair, that, without giving him time to anſwer their Secretary's firſt letter, on the next morning they ſent him another, ‡ poſitively demanding immediate payment. This proceeding was altogether unuſual and unaccountable; however, without deviating from the reſpect due to the board, the writer ventured, on the 15th *April* 1767, to ſend them a § letter, ſetting forth the nature of the tranſaction, which had been miſrepreſented to them, together with his account-current, in which he had placed one demand againſt the other, and therewith, in a ‖ letter to Mr. Secretary *Droz*, tendered the balance due from him.

The concluſion of this affair of the ſalt and rice-balances, which terminated in the entire diſgrace of the Preſident and Council, will be ſhewn in the following ſheets. In the mean time we muſt

* See Appendix F. Num. V. page 439.
† Ibid. Num. VI.
‡ Ibid. Num. VII.
§ Ibid. Num. VIII.
‖ Ibid. Num. IX.

inform the reader, that Colonel *Richard Smith* having taken leave of the board at *Calcutta*, on the 27th *March* 1767, proceeded up to the brigade of his command at *Illahabad*. During his ſtay at *Calcutta* he had been adviſed by Governor *Vereliſt* to engage in * trade, in partnerſhip with Mr. *Claud Ruſſell*, who, as well as the Colonel, had been lately admitted a member of the Select Committee. Their firſt commercial adventure was in the purchaſe of Mr. *Vereliſt*'s ſhare of the cargoes of cotton imported from *Surat*, already mentioned, which they bought at an advance of fifty thouſand rupees on what it had coſt the Governor. The Colonel's ſecond engagement was in ſundry ſtaple-articles bought at the Company's auction at *Calcutta*, and tranſported into the provinces of *Illahabad*, and *Owd*, where the greateſt part was afterwards ſold at high prices to the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*. The third undertaking between the Colonel and Mr. *Ruſſell* was that already mentioned in ſaltpetre, to be provided alſo in the provinces where the Colonel's troops were ſtationed; for which buſineſs, they appointed a gomaſtah, named *Iſmaelbeg*. This concern was likewiſe ſo far approved of by Governor *Vereliſt*, that at the requeſt of Mr. *Ruſſell*, he wrote a letter to the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*, and obtained from him, in favour of thoſe gentlemen, a perwânah, or grant for their gomaſtah, *Iſmaelbeg*, to have the *excluſive privilege* of purchaſing all the ſaltpetre produced in that Prince's dominions.

The proſpect of ſucceſs under theſe great advantages, and the favourable advices relative to this undertaking, which were received from Captain *Gabriel Harper*, the Colonel's Aid de Camp, and partner in the concern, who was ſtationed with a detachment of troops at *Fyzabad*, with the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*, appeared ſo very flattering, that ſome time afterwards Meſſrs. *Smith* and *Ruſſell* propoſed to allow ſhares in the adventure to ſeveral other † members of the Council; to which meaſure they were probably

* See an account of the Colonel's commercial concerns, in his letter to Governor *Vereliſt*, dated the 8th *February* 1768. Journals of the Houſe of Commons, vol. XXXIII. pages 938 and 939.

† Agreeably to the beſt information that the writer could obtain, the ſubdivided ſhares on the planning of this intended monopoly were as follow:

To Col. *Richard Smith*, and the gentlemen of his *ſuite*, Capt. *Harper* and others,	$\frac{3}{8}$
Claud Ruſſell, Eſq;	$\frac{2}{8}$
Thomas Kelſall and *William Alderſey*, Eſquires,	$\frac{2}{8}$
Charles Ffloyer, Eſq;	$\frac{1}{8}$
Shares	8

induced with a view of ſecuring their intereſt to protect the projected buſineſs at the Preſidency.

The regular and periodical ſucceſſion of facts made it requiſite to introduce this ſhort account of theſe commercial engagements planned by the Colonel and gentlemen of the Council, as having a moſt intimate connexion with the caſe of the writer; who, notwithſtanding the repeated injuries and provocations he had received, had, on no occaſion, manifeſted the ſlighteſt diſreſpect towards the Preſident and Council; and much leſs had he been guilty of any conduct that could be in the leaſt prejudicial or injurious to the Company. But freedom from guilt afforded no ſecurity againſt puniſhments, under the adminiſtration of the Preſident and Select Committee of *Calcutta* at this period. While peaceably employed on the duties of his ſtation as a judge in the Mayor's Court, and on the concluſion of his mercantile affairs, he was ſurprized by a ſentence equally unexpected and injurious, whereby the Committee had condemned him to the ſevereſt puniſhment next to death; that of baniſhment, *unacquainted with any charge, unconfronted with any accuſer, and unheard in his defence.*

The whole of the allegations contained in this ſentence were infamouſly falſe. But the abſurdity and inconſiſtency of the proceedings of the Secret Committee in this tranſaction cannot be ſet in a ſtronger light than by the ſentence itſelf, as delivered to the writer by Mr. *Alexander Campbell* on the 29th *April* 1767; wherein he was condemned for what the Committee *ſuppoſed he would commit*, as follows:

An Extract from the Proceedings of the Select Committee. Dated the 18th April 1767.

"That Mr. *William Bolts* appears, from many circumſtances, to "be deeply concerned in the conſpiracy to ruin *Nobekiſſen*'s cha- "racter and attempt his life; in which opinion the Committee are "confirmed by his violent and declared reſentment to *Nobekiſſen*; "by the ſhare he took in ſtirring up and inſtigating a proſecution "againſt him in the Zemindary Court, upon an imaginary and "falſe accuſation; and particularly from his taking, at this junc- "ture, into his ſervice *Ramnaut*, a man who ſtands publicly "convicted of perjury, with a view of forging and publiſhing "further aſperſions upon *Nobekiſſen*'s character. That Mr. *Bolts*, "having upon this and many other occaſions endeavoured to draw

"an

"an odium upon the adminiſtration, and to promote faction and "diſcontent in the ſettlement, has rendered himſelf unworthy of "any further indulgence from the Committee, and of the Com-"pany's protection. That, therefore, he be directed to quit *Ben-*"*gal*, and to proceed to *Madraſs* by the firſt ſhip that ſhall ſail "for that Preſidency in the month of *July* next, in order to take "his paſſage from thence to *Europe* in *September*.

A true Extract.
(Signed) C. W. BOUGHTON,
Aſſiſt. Sec. Select Comm."

The writer was not ſo much affected at the unparalleled injuſtice of this ſudden and unexpected ſentence, at the time of receiving it, as he was at a ſubſequent period, when he diſcovered that a gentleman, then a member of the Committee, his moſt intimate and particular *friend*, had not recorded on their proceedings, either his diſſent to the ſentence paſſed, or even a minute, moving for the writer's being heard in his own defence, before condemned.—But it was his hard fate, in *India*, to be betrayed even by his * boſom-friends.—However, with a conſcience void of offence to others, he ſhewed ſuch reſolute firmneſs under the injuries he daily received, as hath forced even Mr. *Vereſt* to acknowledge, to his honour, † "that his public concerns never intruded upon his private cares."

The Preſident and Council ſtill continued to harraſs the writer for the amount of their demand for rice, but would give him no ſatisfaction for the ſalt-balances due to himſelf and partners. In another letter from Mr. Secretary ‡ *Droz*, dated the 27th *April* 1767, they alleged that the Company kept *no open account with any individual*, and therefore inſiſted that he ſhould pay off the debit ſide of their account againſt him; and referred him, in the moſt vague and ambiguous manner, to their own officers for payment of the credit ſide, in his favour.

The reader will pleaſe to remark, that the balance due from the ſalt-pans to the writer and his partners Meſſrs. *Playdell* and *Middle-*

* Even this ſingle reflection of a private nature would not have eſcaped from the writer, but as a comment on Mr. *Vereſt*'s remark; though he could very readily furniſh matter that would tend greatly to the heightening of even ſuch a character as that of Eſquire *Paunceford*, recorded by Doctor *Smollett* in *Humphry Clinker*, vol. I. pages 138 to 145.

† *Vereſt*'s View, page 39.

‡ See Appendix F. Num. X. page 442.

ton, according to the account made up and delivered in *July* 1766, was no leſs a ſum than current rupees 45,273. 1. 9. or nearly five thouſand pounds ſterling; and from the conduct of the Preſident and Council, which hath already been repreſented, it muſt evidently appear, that no rational reliance could be made on their juſtice, for ſettling an account which had ſo long lain before them diſregarded. He therefore wrote them another letter, * on the 27th *April* 1767, in which he poſitively refuſed to pay more than the balance which had already been tendered, till he was made acquainted with the reſolution of the board relative to the ſalt-balances.

In conſequence of that letter, the Preſident and Council immediately commenced a proſecution in the Mayor's Court at *Calcutta*, by a bill, which they filed on the 8th of *May* 1767, againſt the writer; who gave in a full anſwer, upon oath, on the 26th of *June* following. With his anſwer, he likewiſe tendered into Court a bag, containing current rupees 3,175. 7. 9. the entire balance appearing to be due from him according to his ſtated accounts, in full ſatisfaction of the complainants demand; which Mr. *Thomas Morris*, their attorney, refuſed to accept.

Upon a motion made by Mr. *Morris*, on the 14th *Auguſt* 1767, in the Mayor's Court, it was ordered, that the cauſe ſhould be ſet down to be heard upon bill and anſwer; and on the 6th *October* 1767, it was decreed againſt the writer, who thereupon appealed it to the Court of Appeals.

This Court, conſiſting of the Preſident and Council only, it was ſcarcely to be expected, that they, who were parties againſt the appellant, would decree the cauſe againſt themſelves. Accordingly, on the 2d of *March* 1768, when the appeal came to a hearing in court, at which were preſent *John Cartier*, *Richard Becher*, *James Alexander*, *Claud Ruſſell*, and *William Alderſey*, Eſquires, they were of courſe pleaſed to confirm the decree of the Mayor's Court.

In ſuch caſes, from the conſtitution of the courts at that time, there was little chance of any ſubject's procuring redreſs in *India*; and, conſequently, there was no proſpect of obtaining juſtice, unleſs the aggrieved party, upon a tedious and expenſive appeal, could bring his cauſe before the auguſt Tribunal of the Sovereign in Council, here in *England*.

* Appendix F. Num. XI. page 443.

Reduced

Reduced to this laſt reſource, after giving the neceſſary ſecurity, he appealed his cauſe to the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council. But the Court of *Eaſt India* Directors were ſo much aſhamed of the conduct of Governor *Verelſt*, and his colleagues in this affair, that they did not think it * *prudent for the Company to bring the appeal before the Lords*; and even their Solicitor appeared "† *ſorry, that the writer had met with ſo much vexation and delay*" on that occaſion.

Having been obliged, for perſpicuity ſake, to trace this tranſaction from its commencement to its concluſion, we will now recur back to *April* 1767, the period from whence we ſet off in this digreſſion.

Every engine that the moſt inveterate malice could contrive was now employed againſt the writer. A native of the country, named *Philip Pollock*, who had been formerly employed as an agent in the commercial affairs of the partnerſhip of *Johnſtone*, *Hay*, and *Bolts*, of which he would not render a regular account, and whoſe fidelity they had great reaſon to ſuſpect, was pitched upon as a proper inſtrument on that occaſion. This man, who would not have dared to proceed in a hoſtile manner againſt any of his former employers, who had ever treated him with great indulgence, without being privately given to underſtand that he ſhould be powerfully ſupported, was inſtigated to prefer an indictment againſt the writer, at the general quarter ſeſſions of Oyer and Terminer, for forcibly, as he alleged, breaking open his houſe, and ſtealing his papers.

This tranſaction, which was nothing but an oblique attack of power on the writer, through Mr. *Pollock*, was of ſo curious a nature, that we have given copies in the ‡ APPENDIX of all the papers which paſſed on that occaſion. The writer was actually obliged to carry with him to the *acting Juſtice* Mr. *Claud Ruſſell*, bail for his appearance, and for ſtanding his trial at the ſeſſions. But as Mr. Juſtice *Ruſſell*, upon further ſcrutiny, found this affair would not ſtand the teſt of inquiry, nor anſwer the purpoſe intended, it was therefore dropped; but Mr. *Pollock* was encouraged, from the enmity which he perceived prevailed among the members of the Council againſt the writer, to perſiſt in a deviation from

* See Appendix F. Num. LI. page 540.
† Ibid.
‡ Ibid. D. pages 341 to 344.

his

his duty, and to obſtruct the adjuſtment of the partnerſhip-accounts; ſo that it was not in the writer's power to conclude thoſe concerns during the remainder of the ſhort time which the Governor and Council thought proper to allow him for remaining in *Bengal*.

Although, in pages 56 and 67 we have given a curſory account of the ſaltpetre-concern, planned and agreed upon between Colonel *Richard Smith* and Mr. *Claud Ruſſell*, at the recommendation of Mr. *Verelſt*, before the Colonel left *Calcutta*, in *March* 1767, yet, as hath been obſerved, at that period the circumſtances of the engagement were not known to the writer. He met indeed with great obſtructions in the concluſion of his buſineſs in all parts of the provinces of *Illahabad* and *Owd*, but he did not then know, that *Iſmaelbeg*, who occaſioned them, was not only protected, but actually employed by the copartners, Meſſrs. *Smith* and *Ruſſell*. The commander of the brigade then at *Illahabad* was the moſt proper perſon to apply to on this occaſion, and one whom the writer leaſt of all ſuſpected, at that time, in this buſineſs. He therefore wrote a * letter to Colonel *Smith*, requeſting his aſſiſtance in the difficulties under which he laboured. A peruſal of the letter here referred to, will not only ſerve to ſhew the reader the then ſtate of this buſineſs, but alſo to convince him, that the writer behaved on this occaſion with the utmoſt openneſs and candour. But he received no anſwer from Colonel *Smith*, while the attacks upon his people and property, on the part of *Iſmaelbeg*, became daily more violent. Not knowing who elſe to apply to for aſſiſtance, on the 19th *June* 1767, he wrote a letter to one Monſ. *Gentil*, a *French* gentleman, who reſided at the Court of the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*, to whom he had been particularly recommended by † General *Carnac*. This letter, which was written in *French*, being entirely on the ſubject of the writer's private concerns, would have been too unimportant to lay before the reader, if it had not been made a pretence, by Colonel *Smith* and the Preſident *Verelſt* and his Council, for a charge againſt him, of carrying on a *treaſonable* correſpondence with the enemies of the Company. For this purpoſe it was laid before a Committee of the Honourable ‡ Houſe of Commons, and for this purpoſe when tranſlated into *Engliſh*, at *Calcutta*, the *French* word § *aſſocié*, where it meant ſimply, a

* Appendix E. Num. I. page 345.

† See a letter from the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah* to Governor *Verelſt*, relative to this Monſ. *Gentil*, dated the 12th *March* 1767. Appendix B. Num. IV. page 287.

‡ See Journals of the Houſe of Commons, vol. XXXIII. page 919.

§ Appendix F. Num. XXII. page 481.

partner

partner in trade, was conſtrued, "aſſociate," or *conſpirator*. This inſignificant letter, therefore, being by ſuch means magnified into conſequence, makes it neceſſary, on account of what will follow, to trouble the reader with a reference to the tranſlation of it in the * APPENDIX.

The next extraordinary tranſaction was on the 24th of *Auguſt* 1767. At a conſultation held that day, at which were preſent, *Harry Vereſſt*, Eſq; Preſident, with Meſſrs. *John Cartier*, *Richard Becher*, *James Alexander*, *Claud Ruſſell*, *William Alderſey*, *Charles Floyer*, and *Alexander Campbell*; the writer, although ſtill a judge of the Mayor's Court, was ordered immediately to proceed to *Europe*, as was intimated to him by the following letter from their Secretary.

"To Mr. *William Bolts*.

"SIR,

"I am directed, by the Honourable the Preſident and Council, "to acquaint you, it is their orders that you proceed to *Europe* on "board the *Lord Holland*, which will be diſpatched in the courſe "of this month.

I am, SIR,
Your moſt obedient ſervant,
(Signed) SIMEON DROZ, Sec."

Fort William,
the 24th Aug. 1767.

The ſtate of perſecution under which the writer laboured, could not be an agreeable ſituation to him. But however deſirous he was of quitting *Bengal*, it was utterly impoſſible for him ſafely to do it, without firſt ſecuring his own property, and the effects of other perſons with which he had been entruſted. It was then the duty of the Preſident and Council, who appeared ſo very ſolicitous that he ſhould quit the country, at leaſt to provide for the ſecurity of all ſuch property. Had they done this, the writer would not only have embarked within one month, as he actually propoſed to them to do, but would alſo have put the envious and malicious members of the Council in peaceable poſſeſſion of all his trade, warehouſes, and manufactories; upon which ſubjects, on the 29th † *Auguſt* 1767, he wrote them a letter.

But the board did not appear to think it worth their while to conſider either of the private concerns of the writer, or of thoſe per-

* Appendix E. Num. II. page 347.
† Ibid. F. Num. XII. page 443.

ſons for whom he acted. In the 51ſt paragraph of their general letter, of the 14th *September* 1767, by the *Lord Holland*, they addreſſed the Court of Directors in the following words:

"In conſequence of the reſolution taken by the Select Commit-
"tee (meaning their ſentence of the 18th *April* 1767) regarding
"Mr. *William Bolts*, we have ſent him alſo poſitive directions to
"leave the country, and repair to *Europe* this ſeaſon."

In the mean time, every tool was employed by Governor *Verelſt* and his Council to contrive matters of complaint againſt the writer, that might carry an appearance of juſtifying their conduct towards him, in the eyes of the Courts of *Eaſt India* Directors, without the leaſt foundation in truth; ſeveral inſtances of which will preſently be made appear.

The board did not take the writer's letter of the 29th *Auguſt* into their conſideration before the 1ſt of *October* enſuing, on which day the following proceedings were held:

"At a Conſultation held at *Calcutta* the 1ſt *October* 1767,

Preſent, The Hon. *Harry Verelſt*, Eſq; Preſident,
John Cartier,
Richard Becher.
James Alexander,
Claud Ruſſell,
William Alderſey,
Charles Ffloyer, and
Alexander Campbell, Eſquires.

"Two letters from Mr. *William Bolts*, one to the board and the
"other to the Secretary, are now read, as entered after theſe
"minutes, being in anſwer to the letter wrote him the 24th
"*Auguſt*, by our order, on the ſubject of his returning to *Europe*.
"He herein aſſigns the ſituation of his private affairs to be ſuch as
"render his immediate departure impoſſible; but aſſures the board,
"that as ſoon as they are adjuſted he ſhall with pleaſure obey
"their orders.

"*Ordered*, The Secretary do acquaint Mr. *Bolts*, that after the
"indulgence he has already had, his private concerns are no in-
"ducements for us to recede from our orders, and we therefore
"expect that he will embark in the next ſhip that ſails for *Europe*.
"Further, that we hear he is carrying on an improper inter-

"courſe

" courſe with the *Dutch*, to the prejudice of the Honourable Com-
" pany's affairs, and on that account poſitively forbid his leaving
" *Calcutta* without our expreſs permiſſion.

" *Ordered*, That the Mayor's Court be acquainted herewith,
" that they apply for another Alderman in his room."

The letters written on this occaſion to the writer and the Mayor's Court were as follow:

" To Mr. *William Bolts*.

" SIR,

" I am directed by the Honourable the Preſident and Council to
" acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th *Auguſt*, and to
" acquaint you, that your private concerns, after the indulgence
" you have already had, can be no inducement for them to recede
" from their orders: the board do expect that you will embark in
" the next ſhip that ſails for *Europe*.

" The board have further ordered me to acquaint you, that *they*
" *have heard* you are carrying on an *improper intercourſe with the*
" Dutch, to the prejudice of the Company's affairs; they do there-
" fore poſitively forbid the ſame, and *direct*, *that you do not again*
" *leave* Calcutta *without their expreſs permiſſion*.

I am, SIR,

Fort William, Your moſt obedient ſervant,
the 1ſt October 1767. (Signed) SIMEON DROZ, Sec."

" To *John Holme*, Eſq; Regiſter to the Honourable the Mayor's
" Court of *Calcutta*.

" SIR,

" I am directed by the Honourable the Preſident and Council
" to requeſt you will acquaint the Honourable the Mayor's Court,
" that they have directed Mr. *William Bolts*, now an Alderman of
" their Court, to proceed to *Europe* by the next ſhip that ſails
" from hence. They give the Honourable Court this notice, that
" they may, *if they pleaſe*, apply for another Alderman in his room;
" and to acquaint them, that on their ſo doing, their requeſt ſhall
" be immediately complied with.

I am, SIR,

Fort William, Your moſt obedient ſervant,
the 1ſt October 1767. (Signed) SIMEON DROZ, Sec."

The ridicule and contempt which the Governor and Council drew upon themſelves in the ſettlement, by the above proceedings, were beyond deſcription. The writer was ordered, on the 18th *April* 1767, to proceed to *Madraſs*. On the 24th of *Auguſt* 1767 he was ordered to repair to *Europe*, on the ſhip *Lord Holland*, and on the 1ſt of *October* 1767 he was ordered to proceed to *Europe* on the next ſhip that ſhould ſail; although thoſe gentlemen had been informed by him, that he could not, and knew that he would not comply with any ſuch orders, unleſs his property and that of his employers were firſt ſecured. To complete the abſurdity of their conduct, although the writer had already received their repeated orders to quit *Bengal*, yet on this 1ſt of *October* 1767 the Preſident and Council were pleaſed to direct, that he ſhould *not* leave *Calcutta* without expreſs permiſſion.

In their letter to the gentlemen of the Mayor's Court, the Preſident and Council had given them a *hint* to apply, "if they pleaſed," for another Alderman, in the writer's room. But however obſervant they might be of a *hint* from a Governor on other occaſions ſubſequent to this, yet in the preſent caſe every member of the Court felt for his own ſituation. They were therefore pleaſed to order the following letter to be written by their Regiſter, on this buſineſs:

"To *Simeon Droz*, Eſq; Secretary.

"SIR,

"This morning I received your letter of the 1ſt inſtant, which "I immediately laid before the honourable the Mayor's Court, who "directed me to acquaint you, in anſwer thereto, that when Mr. "*Bolts*'s ſeat, as an Alderman, becomes vacant, the Court will ap- "ply to the honourable the Preſident and Council to appoint another "gentleman to fill up the vacancy.

I am, SIR,

Calcutta, the 6th *Oct.* 1767. Your moſt obedient humble ſervant, (Signed) JOHN HOLME, Reg."

On the 8th of *October* 1767 the writer ſent a complimentary letter to the Mayor and Aldermen on the ſubject of their foregoing letter to the board, which, as Mr. *Vereſt* has exhibited as a matter of criminality againſt him, is inſerted, for the reader's peruſal, in the

APPENDIX:

*APPENDIX: and on the next day he ſent another letter to the Preſident and Council, in anſwer to that which he had received from Mr. Secretary *Droz*, of the 1ſt *October* 1767. In this + letter he earneſtly preſſed the board for an anſwer upon the very important points on which he had addreſſed them in his former letters, relative to his property and that of others in his hands, in order that he might be enabled to determine upon his proceeding to *Europe* by the next ſhip.

With reſpect to the charge againſt him contained in the letter of the 1ſt *October* 1767, that he "*was carrying on an improper intercourſe* "*with the* Dutch, *to the prejudice of the Company's affairs*," notwithſtanding the ſolemn call which he had made upon them, in his letter already cited, of the 9th *October* 1767, he could obtain no ſatisfaction from the Preſident and Council. They would neither acquaint him with the nature of his crime, nor hear his defence. It was therefore impoſſible for him even to gueſs what this charge meant; nor could he ever diſcover it in *India*.

It was Mr. *Vereſt*'s publication that firſt diſcloſed this important ſecret to the writer, above five years after that very gentleman and his confederates had condemned and puniſhed him for this unknown crime. But the charge is ſo truly malicious, frivolous, and groundleſs, that we ſhould not intrude on the reader's patience, by a recital of the circumſtances attending it, if the Preſident and Council of *Bengal*, and even the *Eaſt India* Directors, had not given importance to this inſignificant tranſaction, by the great and fruitleſs pains they have taken in their inveſtigation of it.

It appears from a paper in the Appendix to Mr. *Vereſt*'s book, page 196, that the information againſt the writer, alluded to in the letter from the Preſident and Council of the 1ſt *October* 1767, originally came from a *Dutch* gentleman, named *Daniel Lankheet*, and was tranſmitted in a private letter to Mr. *Vereſt*, from Mr. *Thomas Kelſall*, then Chief of the *Engliſh* factory at *Dacca*. It is moſt probable that no attention was paid by the board to the writer's call to be heard againſt this charge, for fear of the conſequences of a public diſcuſſion, which would have brought to light another ‡ combination of

* Appendix, F. Num. XIV. page 446.

+ See his letter to the board of the 9th *October* 1767. Ibid. page 447.

‡ As this buſineſs was carried on as ſecretly as poſſible, we cannot particularly ſpecify the preciſe ſhares which thoſe gentlemen reſpectively held. But Colonel *Smith* has acknowledged (ſee Journals of the Houſe of Commons, vol. XXXIII. page 939,) that the advances made on his account at the *Aurungs* amounted to 25,000 rupees. In the pro-

of the gentlemen of Council, who had engaged together for the provision of cloths, or *piece-goods*, at the *Aurungs*. The charge, as contained in Mr. *Kelsall*'s information of the 18th *September* 1767, imports, that the writer was engaged in a joint concern with Mr. *Vernet*, the Governor of the *Dutch* settlements in *Bengal*, for the provision of goods at *Dacca*, to the amount of 87,500*l.* to the great "prejudice of the Company's business, and *trade in general*; since, "in order to get in so enormous an investment, the parties must "have necessarily *purchased at an advanced price*;" and that upon the gentlemen of the *Dutch* factory's *disdaining* to execute this commission, the business had been transferred, on account of Messrs. *Vernet* and *Bolts*, to a less conscientious agent, an *Armenian*, named *Cogee Miguel Sarkis*.

Some time afterwards, Mr. *Verelst* procured an *affidavit* from Mr. *Kelsall*, relative to this pretended *clandestine trade* of the writer's, which, with other * documents of equal importance, collected or framed against him after he was sent away from *Bengal*, were transmitted to the Court of *East India* Directors, by the *Shrewsbury*, and

vince of *Dacca*, where the main part of this joint investment was provided, under the management of Mr. *Kelsall*, the business was prosecuted with such rigour, that the words *committee-cloth*, meaning what was provided on this private account, were then more familiar to the weavers than those of the *Company's investment*. The oppressions committed *under colour of making the Company's investment* were carried to such a height in that province, that the country-merchants have been known to *bury their muslins under-ground*, for fear they should be seized by *the Company*'s Peons. In support of this assertion, the writer is now in possession of an original narrative, in the hand-writing of one of the natives, sent him from *Dacca*, whereby it appears, that weavers and brokers have there been imprisoned, flogged, put in irons, fined large sums of money, and treated in the most ignominious manner, for only daring to sell a few pieces of cloth to such persons as would pay them best for it. See a translation of this narrative in the APPENDIX, A. Num. XXXIII. page 170.

* There was also another document of the same frivolous nature sent to the Directors against the writer by the *Shrewsbury*, attested *on the* 23*d* December 1768, under the hand and seal of *David Killican*, Esq; the Mayor of *Calcutta*. This was an account of an agreement made on the 6th *February* 1768, between *Charles Cazenove*, Esq; Chief of the *Danish* factory, and the writer; whereby, for a valuable consideration, the writer was to have the Chief's privilege of sending the weight of 1200 *Danish* pounds, in goods, to *Copenhagen*, on their Company's ship *the Countess of Moltcke*. The issue of this affair was, that from the distress in which the Governor and Council had involved his affairs, his Attornies, in his absence, could not furnish the goods to fill up the privilege; and there never was, at any time, a single piece of goods sent to *Europe* on the writer's account, by virtue of this agreement, on any ship whatever.

A *Danish* gentleman, Mr. *Christian Frederick Brix*, who was Secretary to Mr. *Cazenove* and the Council at *Serampore*, was the person who furnished the information; and he appears to have been afterwards promoted, for his good services, to the office of an Attorney in the late Mayor's Court at *Calcutta*.

received in *London* on the 5th *December* 1769. For the information of Mr. *Kelſall*, of the 18th *September* 1767; the letter on the ſame ſubject from the Court of Directors to the Preſident and Council in *Bengal*, dated the 23d *March* 1770; and the anſwer from the Preſident and Council, of the 2d *April* 1771, we muſt requeſt the reader to turn to our * APPENDIX; while we proceed to give a ſhort account of the real nature of this tranſaction, on which all parties appear to have been equally willing to miſlead or be miſled, ſo long as either could ſerve to injure the writer.

In the diſtricts of *Silhett* and *Dacca*, the writer had large concerns outſtanding, as well in debts as unſold effects. Among the latter, a principal article was copper; which, before he reſigned the ſervice, he had bought at the Company's auction in *Calcutta*, and tranſported to thoſe markets for ſale. The returns from thence could only be made in the commodities produced in thoſe countries. When this became the object, it was agreed, *in the beginning of* February 1768, between Governor *Vernet* and the writer, to purchaſe ſome cloth at *Dacca*, on their joint account, *paying the duties to the Nabob of* Dacca, as uſual on ſuch tranſactions. Herein one view of the writer's was natural to a merchant, to have his goods cheaper, by the charges of merchandize being divided on a large inſtead of a ſmall invoice. The other alternative, of paying the duties, he chearfully ſubmitted to, that no objections might be urged againſt the legality of his trade, by his enemies, who had deprived him of the privilege of duſtucks, even before the expiration of the cuſtomary twelve months allowed after reſignation of the ſervice. The ſum in which Mr. *Vernet* engaged was only current rupees † 21,468; and the intended commiſſion was given to Mr. *Daniel Lankheet*, who received it, at that time, as a great favour. Before the commencement of the buſineſs, Mr. *Lankheet* repreſented the great obſtructions he ſhould meet with from the dependants of the *Engliſh* factory at *Dacca*; and in conſequence of his repeated repreſentations on that ſubject, both Mr. *Vernet* and the writer relinquiſhed all thoughts of the concern, as may be ſeen by the copy of a ‡ letter written to Mr. *Lankheet* on that occaſion.

Upon

* Appendix, F. Num. XIII. page 445. Num. LIII. page 558. and Num. LVI. page 560.

† About 2,330*l.*

‡ " To Mr. *Daniel Lankheet*.

" DEAR SIR,

" I have been favoured with your's of the 25th *February*; and, in conſequence of the " difficulties repreſented by you, I have relinquiſhed all thoughts of the concern, which

" Mr.

Upon diſputes happening between the *Dutch* gentlemen at *Dacca*, Mr. *Kelſall* and the gentlemen of the *Engliſh* factory, who frequently had Mr. *Lankheet* at their houſes, got intelligence of this matter, which has been ſo miſrepreſented: and they as chearfully made uſe of it, againſt the writer, from a jealouſy of his interference with their own concerns, and in order to ingratiate themſelves with Governor *Verelſt*, as Mr. *Lankheet* afterwards did, ungratefully, to injure his benefactor, Governor *Vernet*.

It is true, that *Cogee Miguel Sarkis*, a conſiderable *Armenian* merchant, who, with his family, had been eſtabliſhed for many years at *Dacca*, had tranſacted buſineſs for the writer before, as he did alſo after that period. But it is *falſe*, that this concern was transferred to Mr. *Sarkis* on account of Meſſrs. *Vernet* and *Bolts*; nor had the writer, as he ſolemnly declares, any commercial concern of a ſimilar or any other nature, under the management of any other perſon or perſons, jointly with Mr. *Vernet*, before or after the ſaid month of *February* 1768: which however, if he had, would have been *perfectly lawful*.

Nor leſs *falſe* was the information, tranſmitted by Mr. *Kelſall* to Mr. *Verelſt*, and by him to the Directors, concerning the immenſity of this pretended engagement, 87,500 *l.* for the whole of all the writer's concerns in Mr. *Sarkis*'s hands at no one period amounted to ſo many rupees.

Upon conſideration, therefore, of the papers already referred to on this affair, the candid reader will perceive, that there was not the leaſt foundation for this charge, as brought againſt the writer, by Mr. *Verelſt*; that at worſt it was only an intention to have carried on a lawful commercial-adventure with Mr. *Vernet*, which never took effect; that this intended trade was not agreed on till *February* 1768, and was laid aſide in the following month; although Mr. *Verelſt* has given the Public Mr. *Kelſall*'s information of the fact ON THE * 18TH SEPTEMBER 1767; and that even the *Eaſt India* Di-

" Mr. *Vernet* is now reſolved to proſecute ſolely on the account of the *Dutch* Company.
" He has repaid me here the money that was ſent on the joint account: you will there-
" fore of courſe receive the neceſſary orders from him.
" I am ſorry for this diſappointment, as, in conſequence of what *you had propoſed at*
" *Chinſurah*, I had flattered myſelf we ſhould have been able to do ſome buſineſs toge-
" ther. If there be any thing wherein I can ſerve you here, I requeſt you will command
" me, who am,

DEAR SIR,
Your moſt obedient ſervant,
(Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS."

Calcutta,
the 5th March 1768.

* *Verelſt*'s Appendix, page 196.

rectors,

rectors, * *in the year* 1770, were ſeriouſly amuſing themſelves in dreſſing up this affair, to be uſed in a Court of Record, in juſtification of what the writer had ſuffered *in the year* 1768.

Equally malicious and groundleſs was every other charge brought againſt the writer, by Preſident *Vereſt* and the Council at *Bengal*: notwithſtanding which they were all with equal eagerneſs received, countenanced, and adopted by the Directors of the Company. But perhaps the reader will wonder why the ſentence pronounced againſt him by the Secret Committee, on the 18th *April* 1767, has hitherto remained unrefuted.

This ſentence was wholly founded on the aſſiſtance the writer had given to one native named *Gocul Sonar*, and to another named *Ramnaut*, the merchant already mentioned in this work, in order to their obtaining juſtice againſt *Nobekiſſen*, the political banyan to the Preſident and Select Committee. It will be ſeen from the papers in the Appendix, that the writer had moſt earneſtly ſought for an opportunity of juſtifying himſelf againſt thoſe proceedings of the Committee; but it was in vain to attempt a vindication before men who had laughed to ſcorn the conſtitutional rights of their fellow-ſubjects, and who ſeemed to hold in contempt every idea of juſtice. He therefore reſolved, on that occaſion, to addreſs himſelf in a direct channel, by memorial, to the Court of *Eaſt India* Directors.

The ſaid ſentence being alſo pronounced againſt him after the ſailing of the *Mercury*, the laſt ſhip of that ſeaſon, whoſe final diſpatches were dated in *April* 1767, the writer of courſe had no opportunity of appealing to the Directors before the diſpatch of the ſhips of the next ſeaſon. Beſides, as the Preſident and Council had, about that time, violently threatened to ſend him a priſoner to *England*, he did not know but he might himſelf have been embarked with his own memorial. But when he perceived they were not ready for that farther act of violence and breach of the charter, he thought it moſt prudent to let the firſt diſpatches be ſent away before he delivered in his vindication, in order that the ſecret proceedings of the Select Committee might be tranſmitted to the Directors, ſigned by the Preſident and other members. This precaution he deemed extremely neceſſary, for fear of the dark works of the Committee; who, there was reaſon to ſuſpect, would have had few ſcruples of conſcience, even to the altering of the records made of their former ſecret proceedings, for anſwering any temporary purpoſe, on ſeeing his defence.

* See Appendix, Letter F. Num. LIII. page 558. and Num. LVI. page 560.

The writer's memorial of the 12th *October* 1767 will not only ſerve to exhibit what he had to ſay in his juſtification, againſt the ſecret accuſation of the Select Committee, but likewiſe to ſhew, that the Court of Directors were ſo long ago informed of all the evils then exiſting in their government in *Bengal*, and which naturally brought on the ruinous conſequences which they afterwards experienced: we therefore ſubmit it entire to the reader's peruſal in the * APPENDIX.

As this memorial particularly arraigned the conduct of Governor *Verelſt*, his Committee and Council, it was but juſt they ſhould have an opportunity given of vindicating themſelves. It was, moreover, the rule of the Company's ſervice, that all addreſſes to the Courts of *Eaſt India* Directors ſhould be tranſmitted through the channel of the Preſidents and Councils of their reſpective ſettlements. The writer, therefore, incloſed it in a letter to the board, by which he equally conformed to the eſtabliſhed uſage of the ſervice, and gave his late fellow-ſervants, what they had on all occaſions induſtriouſly withheld from him, an opportunity of being heard before condemnation. In that letter, which was dated the † 18th *October* 1767, he likewiſe offered to prove the aſſertions contained in his memorial.

There were two members at that time, Meſſrs. *Richard Becher* and *James Alexander*, who, having but lately taken their ſeats at the board, had not been concerned in the tranſactions againſt the writer of *April* 1767. He flattered himſelf, therefore, that in thoſe gentlemen he might meet with minds untainted and unprejudiced, or at leaſt that would in ſome degree be attentive to the calls of juſtice on behalf of an oppreſſed man. On this preſumption he wrote a ‡ letter alſo to thoſe gentlemen, principally with a view of ſetting them on their guard againſt the artifices which he knew would be exerted againſt him.

But, though this letter was of a private nature, Meſſrs. *Becher* and *Alexander* did not condeſcend to anſwer it. The Reſidency at the *Durbar* and the Chiefſhip of *Patna*, objects in their view, might appear of much greater conſequence to them than the doing of juſtice to an individual, againſt the Preſident and his colleagues. They therefore delivered the writer's letter to Mr. *Verelſt*, and he laid it before the board; who now all joined in expreſſing the keeneſt re-

* See Appendix, F. Num. XVII. pages 450 to 473.
† Ibid. Num. XVIII. page 473.
‡ Ibid. Num. XIX. page 474.

ſentment towards him, in revenge for his having expoſed their miſconduct, in his memorial to the Directors.

The proceedings of the Preſident and Council, held on the * 5th *November* 1767, on occaſion of the writer's ſaid memorial, and the letters juſt referred to, are worthy of the reader's peruſal for their curioſity, as well as neceſſary for his underſtanding of what follows. The extreme bombaſt of ſtyle, and the groſs compliments therein paid to the Preſident, by himſelf and the reſt of the board, carry with them a ſufficient comment on their own merits. The writer was ready, and offered to prove every aſſertion contained in his memorial whereof the truth ſhould be conteſted; ſo that, rather than give their own opinions on their own conduct to the Directors, it would have been more honourable for the Preſident and Council to have undertaken to prove the falſity of his charges againſt them; in which endeavour, armed with the power they poſſeſſed, and themſelves being the Judges in *Bengal*, they had nothing but truth to fear. Yet they thought it more prudent and ſafe to aſſert, in general terms, "that the *abſurdity* and *malice* of the memorial was "too evident to *require any ſtrictures*;" and *therefore* they forwarded it to the Directors, "a *number* in the *packet*, WITHOUT REMARKS." But no *private minutes* of the Preſident and Council could *publicly diſprove facts*; much leſs could they convince the "*whole ſettlement*," that it was upright to obſtruct the avenues to juſtice; or, in a *Britiſh* colony, to transfer the complaints of *Indian* merchants from an open trial by juries, to the clandeſtine proceedings of a junto, ſworn to ſecrecy among themſelves; and who, as time hath ſince ſhewn, were deeply intereſted in the event of their complaints.

But for the preſent we poſtpone our farther expoſure of the conduct of the Preſident and members of the Committees and Council, relative to the *Hindoos*, *Ramnaut* and *Gocul*; in order to continue our narrative.

At the expiration of a fortnight, from the proceedings of the 5th *November* 1767, the following letter was ſent to the writer:

"To Mr. *William Bolts*.

"SIR,

"I am directed by the honourable the Preſident and Council to "acquaint you, that they have peruſed your addreſs to the Court of

* See Appendix, F. Num. XX. page 475.

"Directors, your letter to them, alſo your letter to the Mayor's "Court regarding the Preſident, and to Meſſrs. *Becher* and *Alex-*"*ander*; all of which confirm them in their opinion, that it is "highly *neceſſary to prevent your remaining in the country.*

"I am therefore once more to repeat their orders to you to return "to *Europe* on the firſt ſhip that ſails from hence; which you muſt "not on any account evade, as they are determined that *you ſhall not* "*remain in* India.

I am, SIR,

Fort William, Your moſt obedient ſervant,

Nov. 5, 1767. (Signed) SIMEON DROZ, Sec."

Among the methods contrived to diſtreſs and harraſs the devoted victim, in which all the members of the board, and every tool over whom they had any influence, were induſtriouſly engaged; the grand plot formed againſt him at this period was, to effect the removal or baniſhment of his commercial agents from the territories of the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah* and the Rajah *Bulwantſing*; where they had charge of the concluſion of his concerns, and the collection of his outſtanding debts. This deſign was particularly levelled againſt certain *Armenian* merchants, who, unfortunately for them, did the writer the favour to act for him in that buſineſs.

The gentlemen who were engaged in the various monopolies that have already been mentioned had a particular intereſt in effecting the baniſhment of thoſe *Armenians*; which was, that of getting immediate poſſeſſion of their trade, and of removing all checks or obſtructions to their own. In the proſecution, therefore, of theſe intereſted views againſt the writer and his *Armenian* agents, ſuch artifices were uſed, by the Preſident and the members of the Council, as none but the moſt mean and abject minds could ever have ſtooped to.

It is by all honeſt men acknowledged, that the powers of every government were originally delegated for the good of the governed, and that they can continue no longer binding than while exerciſed to that end. When, therefore, men inveſted with ſupreme power, but much more the ſub-delegates of a ſubject-government, ſo far diſhonour themſelves as to employ it in the practice of tyranny, oppreſſion, and injuſtice, they thereby forfeit all title to reſpect in their ſtations, render themſelves juſt objects of contempt, and make it neceſſary, as well as laudable, by every legal means, to reſiſt their acts of violence, and even bring them to juſtice.

Upon theſe principles, the writer could no longer refrain from treating his late fellow-ſervants, the Preſident and Council, with that contempt which they had now deſervedly brought upon themſelves; as will appear by the letter which he wrote, on the * 21ſt of *November* 1767, in anſwer to the laſt which he had received from Mr. Secretary *Droz*. He therein told the Secretary, that he ſhould take no notice of any future letters reſpecting his proceeding to *Europe*, unleſs he received an anſwer to what he had repreſented relative to the ſecurity of his property, and unleſs ſuch letters were ſigned by the whole board.

The writer indeed thought, that the ſeizing and tranſporting to *Europe* of a merchant who was poſſeſſed of great property, as well his own as belonging to abſent perſons, then in *Europe*; who had large accounts and dependencies with the natives; and who was reſident within the *Britiſh* ſettlement of *Calcutta*, as one of his Majeſty's Judges, by virtue of the royal charter, were meaſures of ſuch conſequence as merited ſomething more than a ſimple letter from Mr. Secretary *Droz* to authorize; at leaſt a formal avowal thereof, under the hands of the Preſident and Council: who had refuſed to take the leaſt notice of his repeated repreſentations relative to the collecting and remitting of that conſiderable property to *Europe*.

However, the letter to Mr. *Droz* laſt referred to, which was never anſwered, put an end to the correſpondence between the Preſident and Council and the writer, till about four months afterwards, when their actual ſeizure and impriſonment of his agents in the country, by military force, made it neceſſary for him to renew it.

The perſons who, under Colonel *Richard Smith* and Governor *Verelſt*, acted principal parts in effecting the impriſonment of the writer's agents, were Mr. *Robert Maddiſon*, Mr. *Verelſt*'s *Perſian* tranſlator; Mr. *John Chamier*, who, after Lord *Clive*'s departure, was continued at *Banáras* as Mr. *Verelſt*'s agent for diamonds; and Captain *Gabriel Harper*, Colonel *Smith*'s Aid de Camp and † partner in trade, who, we have already obſerved, was ſtationed at *Fyzabad*.

For the accompliſhment of their purpoſe, applications had been made, by Preſident *Verelſt* and Colonel *Smith*, to the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*, ſo early as *June* or ‡ *July* 1767. But the firſt document relative to this buſineſs, which hath come to public light, is an *extract*

* See Appendix, F. Num. XXI. page 479.

† See General *Smith*'s evidence in the Houſe of Commons, Journals, vol. XXXIII. page 941.

‡ Appendix, E. Num. III. page 348.

of a letter from Mr. *Robert Maddiſon* to Mr. *Verelſt*, dated *Patna*, the * 23d *October* 1767. On peruſal of this paper the reader will find, that the Preſident was informed of a fleet of boats belonging to the writer, loaded *with ſaltpetre*, ophium, &c. arriving at *Patna*; where, it was ſaid, they were endeavoured to be paſſed *under Mr.* Maddiſon's *name*, who gave this information to the Preſident, *becauſe the writer's time for enjoying the privilege of a duſtuck was expired*.—Without expatiating on the zeal or immenſe conſequence of Mr. *Verelſt*'s *Perſian* tranſlator, whoſe name alone could paſs a fleet of thirty boats, the reader will pleaſe to remark, that the aſſertion, on the 23d of *October* 1767, that the writer's "time of a duſtuck was "expired," was † not true, as Mr. Preſident *Verelſt* knew full well, although, as hath been obſerved, he was nevertheleſs ‡ unjuſtly deprived of that privilege.

From the letter to Monſieur *Gentil*, already referred || to, the reader will have conceived that gentleman had been of ſome ſervice in the writer's tranſactions at the Court of the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*. In fact, he had afforded conſiderable aſſiſtance to the *Armenian* merchants, as well in the writer's buſineſs as in their own. It was therefore thought neceſſary, if poſſible, to effect the removal of that gentleman alſo. At a former period, as we have obſerved in another place, he had been ſtrongly recommended to the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*, by § General *Carnac*. But, although the Company could not have leſs to fear from any individual on earth, he was now repreſented to be of the moſt formidable conſequence; as if the ſafety of Colonel *Smith*'s whole brigade, or the very exiſtence of the Company, depended on the haſty removal of one inoffenſive *Frenchman* from the Court of their ** peaceful ally at *Fyzabad*.

In purſuit of their plan, therefore, the Colonel's firſt letter againſt this *French* gentleman was written to the Select Committee at *Calcutta*, from *Illahabad*, on the 23d *October* 1767. In the ſame letter he alſo deſired, that Mr. *Maddiſon*, who was then at *Patna*, might be ſent up to him; which, on the 17th *November* 1767, was accordingly

* Appendix, E. Num. IV. page 348.

† As the writer was permitted to reſign the Company's ſervice on the 26th *November* 1766, the uſual twelve months did not expire till the 26th *November* 1767.

‡ See the letters to and from Mr. *Thomas Rumbold*, APPENDIX, Letter E. pages 349 and 350.

|| Appendix, page 347.

§ Ibid. page 288.

** See the 4th paragraph of Mr. *Verelſt*'s letter of 5th *April* 1769, Appendix, A. Num. XL. page 195.

ordered

ordered by the Committee, who now as readily coincided with the Colonel's ſentiments regarding Monſ. * *Gentil*.

The next document which Mr. *Verelſt* has furniſhed, is another *extract* of a letter from Mr. *Maddiſon*, after he had joined Colonel *Smith*, dated *Illahabad*, † the 26th *November* 1767; in which he particularly informs the Governor, that he had got poſſeſſion of a letter from the writer to Monſ. *Gentil*, meaning that of the 19th *June* 1767, ‡ already produced, which he had delivered to Colonel *Smith*. Not only this correſpondence with Monſ. *Gentil*, but even that between the writer and his mercantile-agents, was therein repreſented as *a dangerous channel of conveying intelligence* to the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*. The *Armenians* were accuſed of "filling the country with lying rumours, and of ſeeming to have adopted a ſyſtem of fixing themſelves in the Nabob's dominions, as they were formerly at *Murſhedabad*." The manner in which Mr. *Maddiſon conceived* the writer paſſed his boats *loaded with ſaltpetre* and other goods, was likewiſe deſcribed, and all theſe *important* circumſtances were recommended to the attention of Mr. Preſident *Verelſt*, who had himſelf before deſired Mr. *Maddiſon to procure a particular letter, written by Mr.* Bolts.

The whole of Mr. *Maddiſon*'s accuſatory informations to the Preſident evidently proceeded from the ſettled plan, for obſtructing and undermining the writer's buſineſs; on which view, they were of courſe gladly received and proceeded on by the board. There was not, however, a circumſtance in the whole which had even the ſhadow of truth for its foundation, except a report, which might poſſibly have circulated, concerning thoſe *Armenian* merchants engaging to tranſact buſineſs for Mr. *Rumbold*, as that gentleman had actually written § letters to *Cogee Melcomb* and *Cogee Gregore* for that purpoſe, a few days before the ſtorm was raiſed againſt them. How far Mr. *Maddiſon*'s informations proceeded from his zeal for the Company's ſervice, the reader may be enabled to judge from a very curious letter which, at a ſubſequent period, he wrote to his partner in trade at *Patna*, and which not only ſtands proved on the records of the late Mayor's Court of *Calcutta*, but has alſo been ‖ exhibited before the Court of *Eaſt India* Directors.

* Appendix E. Num. V. page 349.
† Ibid. E. Num. VI. page 349.
‡ Ibid. E. Num. II. page 347.
§ It is probable Mr. *Rumbold* had forgot this circumſtance when he gave his evidence in the Houſe of Commons. See Journals, vol. XXXIII. page 916, at the bottom.
‖ Appendix A. Num. XXXIX. page 193.

Still

Still on the ſame ſubject of the writer's *treaſonable* correſpondence with Monſ. *Gentil*, the next accuſation was made in a pompous letter from Colonel *Smith*, dated *Illahabad*, the 24th *November* 1767, *to the Select Committee*; which was laid before the Preſident and Council at their conſultation *of the 10th* December 1767. From the Colonel's letter it appears, that the offenſive part of what the writer had informed Monſ. *Gentil*, was a report, that his late partner in trade, Mr. *John Johnſtone*, was coming out Governor on the part of the King. The Colonel thought that this was a "falſehood which tended to leſſen the eſſential dignity and neceſſary influence of the Preſident; to whom he conceived it was ſo great an inſult, obliquely offered, that if he, the Colonel, had been preſent at the board, he would have moved *for the exertion of their authority to the utmoſt, to free the ſettlement from ſo dangerous an inhabitant as Mr.* Bolts."

It is worthy of remark, with what eagerneſs all meaſures were purſued that had a tendency to injure the writer. The Preſident and Council, by their records of the * *tenth* December 1767, refer for their information to a Select Committee which was not held till *the eleventh*. But the moſt ridiculous part of the extract from Colonel *Smith*'s letter, as it ſtands on the ſaid proceedings of the Select Committee of the 11th *December* 1767, is omitted on the conſultations juſt referred to. His words were as follow:

"The nature of the intelligence tranſmitted from *Calcutta*, by "*Sujah Dowlah*'s Vakeel, is without limits. The Nabob is almoſt "as fully acquainted with the parliamentary proceedings concern-"ing the Company's affairs, AS I AM. How far the importance "and dignity of the Company, and the weight and influence of "*the adminiſtration*, is leſſened in his eſteem by this communica-"tion, may be eaſily conceived. Whilſt a Vakeel is ſo ready, "and ſo ſure a channel to communicate intelligence, few men will "be found ſo hardy as to maintain a direct correſpondence with "the Nabob, *&c. &c.*"

It may not be eaſily conceived, by an *Engliſh* reader, why the Nabob of *Oude*, an ally of the *Britiſh* nation, in times of profound peace, might not be as ſafely truſted with *the ſecret* of the proceedings of a *Britiſh* parliament, as Colonel *Smith*. But if the writer of ſuch a letter as that already quoted to Monſ. *Gentil*, had ſo much to dread from the reſentment of ſo zealous a gentleman; in

* Appendix E. Num. VII. page 351.

a ſimilar

a ſimilar caſe, within the ſphere of the Colonel's tranſcendent power, what might not his Majeſty's ſervants apprehend, who have been lately ſending over to the natives of *India*, tranſlations into the *Perſian* language of a *Britiſh* act of parliament? It is equally inconceivable, how "the importance and dignity of the Company, or "the weight and influence of *the adminiſtration*," could be leſſened, in the eſteem of the Nabob, or even of the loweſt among the natives, had ſuch a report been true, at that time, either with reſpect to a Governor or a Commander in Chief.

However, on ſuch ſecret, intereſted, and frivolous informations, without accuſing the writer or his agents of any real miſconduct, without hearing them in their defence, without any juſt cauſe of complaint againſt them, and contrary to the inclinations * of the Princes in whoſe dominions they reſided, were thoſe innocent merchants to be ſuddenly ſeized, and baniſhed ſix hundred miles from their habitations, families, and property.

Mr. Preſident *Verelſt*'s † minute, at the conſultation of the 10th *December* 1767, upon theſe informations received from Mr. *Malddiſon* and Colonel *Smith*, was the firſt that he had made on this ſubject; and was calculated to obtain the ſanction of the board for the arbitrary orders, or *recommendations*, which he had ſome months before privately, and unauthorizedly, ſent to the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*. The acquiſition of the writer's private letter to Monſ. *Gentil* was Mr. *Verelſt*'s maſter-piece in politics; and from ſuch informations he acquainted the board, "that he could aſſert, from "*undoubted authority*, that Mr. *Bolts* continued his correſpondence "with perſons reſiding at the Courts of *the country-princes*; and, "with his *Armenian* agents, endeavouring, by falſe reports and re-"preſentations, to leſſen the reſpect due to *the adminiſtration*, and "to deſtroy the harmony and confidence ſubſiſting with the "powers of *Hindoſtan*; that he had an *Armenian* agent at *Fyzabad*, "named *Cogee Rafael*, another at *Banáras*, *Cogee Melcomb*, and a "third near *Ghazipoor*, named *Cogee Gregore*, through whom he "*ungratefully endeavoured to injure the intereſts of thoſe in whoſe ſer-*"*vice he had raiſed an independency*;" that, therefore, he had *de-ſired* the Nabob to baniſh all ſuch from his country; and as he was informed that Mr. *Bolts* had paſſed his goods, duty-free, under old

* Appendix E. Num. XII. page 356. Num. XIV. page 359. Num. XXI. page 365, and Num. LVII. page 392.

† Ibid. page 352.

duſtucks, he, the Preſident, had "wrote *to the miniſters, deſiring* "*them* to iſſue orders for ſtopping all duſtucks of a very old date; "a meaſure which he hoped would put a ſtop to ſo DISHONEST "AND UNLAWFUL A PROCEEDING."

Nor leſs ridiculous were the ſentiments expreſſed by the Preſident and Council, in their letters to the Directors on theſe ſubjects; for proof of which we beg leave to refer to their general * letter by the ſhip *Norfolk*, dated *Calcutta*, the 10th *December* 1767. This letter recapitulated all their charges againſt the writer; that he had offered an inſult to their government, in the perſon of the Preſident; daringly attempted to leſſen their influence in the country, and to deſtroy *the harmony which happily ſubſiſted* in Council, by perſonal addreſſes to the board, and *ſecret correſpondencies*, carried on by means of *Armenian* agents; and that although he was an Alderman of the Mayor's Court, they were determined to ſeize him by force, and ſend him a priſoner to *England*.——That the expediency of fulfilling this reſolution became more evident from the intelligence which they had ſince received, of the information he had given Monſ. *Gentil*, relative to the affairs of the Company, and of his "ASSOCIATE," Mr. *Johnſtone*'s being appointed Governor, on the part of his Majeſty; that the danger of ſuch proceedings was too apparent, "and muſt juſtify whatever method they "propoſed to rid the country of ſuch a man."

After enumerating ſuch ſuppoſed *capital* crimes, and enlarging on their own dangers and apprehenſions, they thus conclude:

Par. 79. "Having now repreſented fully to you the conduct of "Mr. *Bolts*, we beg leave again to point out to you the neceſſity "of having the extent of our authority indiſputably fixed, *with* "*regard to ſending perſons home by force*, who will not comply with "our orders. For if this power is not granted, and perſons are "allowed to remain here, and ſet our government at defiance with "impunity; anarchy and confuſion muſt infallibly take place, and "your influence in theſe parts, in the end, be totally ſubverted."

Such were the proceedings and repreſentations of the Governor and Council. The Secret Committee having alſo readily coincided with the ſentiments and meaſures of Colonel *Smith*, he was requeſted, in a letter of the † 22d *December* 1767, ſigned by Preſident *Verelſt*, Meſſrs. *Cartier*, *Becher* and *Fſloyer*, "to uſe his en-

* Appendix F. page 481.

† Ibid. E. Num. VIII. page 353.

"deavours

"deavours with the Nabob to remove Mr. *Bolts*'s gomaſtahs from "his dominions."

The Colonel's zeal had indeed * already been exerted, and required no inſtigation from the Secret Committee, to effect a purpoſe which he had ſo much at heart for the gratification and intereſt of himſelf and his friends. And in the month of *December* 1767, he paid a viſit to the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*, at *Fyzabad*, whereof, one principal object was the removal of thoſe *Armenians*, who were the writer's agents, from the dominions of the Nabob.

So early as † *March* 1767, the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah* had been made independent, as was pretended, with reſpect to all reſtrictions of trade carried on by gomaſtahs within his own dominions, by letters from Mr. Preſident *Verelſt*; who, before that period, had alſo informed him, that the writer, having reſigned the Company's ſervice, was not under their ‡ protection, nor deſerving of the favour ſhewn him by that Prince; who, as hath juſt been ſeen, by an order from the Select Committee of the 22d *December* 1767 to Colonel *Smith*, was alſo required "*to remove Mr.* Bolts*'s gomaſtahs* "*from his dominions.*"

Under ſuch circumſtances, the reader who has any right information of *India* will acknowledge, that the writer could poſſeſs no influence with the *Indian* Princes for the protection of his agents or gomaſtahs, except ſuch as was founded on general juſtice, or their perſonal good-will towards him; much leſs could thoſe Princes have been afraid to exert their own authority againſt his *Armenian* or other agents, if their miſconduct had rendered ſuch an exertion needful.

There were no *Armenians*, at that time, "*in the ſervice of indivi-*"*duals*," reſiding under *Britiſh* protection, as agents, in all the provinces of *Illahabad* and *Owd*, except thoſe employed by the writer; although there were many other *Armenian* merchants in thoſe provinces, as well as in every other part of *Hindoſtan*. *Mirzapore*, *Banáras*, and *Ghazipoor*, were places at a great diſtance from the Court of the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*, and *within the juriſdiction of the Zemindary of the Rajah* Bulwantſing, whoſe revenues, annually payable to that Nabob, were fixed at a ſtipulated ſum, by treaty, guarantied by the Company. The Rajah, therefore, exer-

* Appendix E. Num. III. page 348.

† Ibid. Num. XIII. page 358.

‡ Mr. *Verelſt*'s letters on this ſubject ſtand on the Company's records, dated the 28th *April* 1767.

ciſed as Zemindar and Prince of the country, every authority relative to the trade, revenues, and government of his own Zemindary, independantly of the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*; although, as has been already ſhewn, that Nabob, in conſequence of a perwânah from Preſident *Verelſt*, had been induced to give Colonel *Smith* and *Claud Ruſſell*, Eſq; an excluſive grant in the name of their gomaſtah *Iſmaelbeg*, for carrying on the ſaltpetre-trade in his dominions.

It was neceſſary to bring theſe facts to the reader's view, before we produced to him the next document that has come to public knowledge, which was a letter from Colonel *Smith* to the Select Committee, dated the * 3d *January* 1768. In that letter, which appears to have been calculated to effect the removal of all obſtacles ariſing from other merchants, the Colonel informed the Committee, "that the "Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah* had repreſented to him the great in-"conveniencies which aroſe from gomaſtahs and *dependents* of "*Engliſh* gentlemen reſiding in his dominions, particularly at *Mir-*"*zapore*, *Banáras*, and *Ghazipoor*; that the Nabob was extremely "cautious in exerting his authority over any of thoſe who even "aſſumed the *Engliſh* name, notwithſtanding the impoſitions, ex-"tortions, and frauds they were guilty of; that as the Nabob had "*received repeated aſſurances from the Preſidency, that no private trade* "*ſhould be carried on in his dominions*, ſo he requeſted, that the "Colonel would exert *his power* to free the country from *the* Ar-"menians and natives of *Bengal*, *in the ſervice of individuals*; for "whoſe expulſion the Colonel aſſured the Nabob effectual means "ſhould be uſed, as he had heard the "*Preſident made it a point* "*neither to grant duſtucks or perwânahs into his Excellency's dominions.*" Further, as a proof of diſintereſtedneſs, "the Colonel aſſured the "Nabob, it *ſhould be his care, that the perwânah which he himſelf* "*had granted to* Iſmaelbeg *(one of his own ſubjects) for the excluſive* "*privilege of making ſaltpetre* ON ACCOUNT of ENGLISH GENTLE-"MEN, *ſhould be returned.*"

The whole of this letter was a compleat miſrepreſentation of facts, and to perſons acquainted with the geography and government of thoſe countries, carries with it its own refutation. The Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah* could not poſſibly have any reaſon to complain of what was done in matters of trade at *Mirzapore*, *Banáras*, and *Ghazipoor*. That Nabob alſo, when applied to by Colonel *Smith* for the expulſion of the *Armenians* "*in the ſervice of individuals*,"

* Appendix E. Num. IX. page 353.

was

was ſo averſe to ſuch an act of injuſtice, that he * eſpouſed their cauſe, and afterwards took into his own † ſervice Mr. *Johannes Padre Rafael*, the only *Armenian*, under the Colonel's deſcription, then *reſident within his immediate juriſdiction*, in order to protect him from violence.—— The Colonel was equally unlucky in his application in ‡ *January* 1768 to the Rajah *Bulwantſing*, at *Banáras*; who actually declared, in the Colonel's preſence, *that he had no complaints to make againſt* Mr. Gregore Cojamaul, the *Armenian* merchant whom he was *directed to remove*. But what proved ſtill more diſgraceful to the Colonel's arguments was, that the only real complaint of this nature, appearing on the Company's records, was actually made againſt the Colonel's *own gomaſtah*, *Iſmaelbeg*, by the KING, or Grand Mogul, SHAH ALLUM; who, in *February* 1768, wrote a § letter to Mr. *Verelſt*, complaining, that "one *Iſmaelbeg* had *en-* "*groſſed the whole trade of ſaltpetre*, under the ſanction of the "*Engliſh*, and deſiring to be informed *on what authority he really* "*acted.*"

As the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*, and the Rajah *Bulwantſing*, had till then evaded the many applications made to them for ſeizing and baniſhing the writer's agents, the order was at laſt pretended to be made ‖ general for recalling all gomaſtahs from thoſe countries. It had been falſely alleged, that the carrying on of any trade in thoſe dominions had been in violation of the ¶ orders of the Directors; for they entirely diſapproved of the reſtrictions that had been laid thereon, pronouncing them to be "*unadviſed*, *unneceſſary*, ** *im-* "*politic*, and *pernicious.*" However, when every other artifice had failed, Mr. *Verelſt* at laſt requeſted the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah* to *oblige him*, by ſpeedily apprehending *Johannes Padre Rafael* and *Wuſcan Eſtephan*, *Armenian* merchants, then reſident at *Fyzabad*, and ſending them to *Calcutta*, as being †† "*a tribe of a bad caſt*, *whoſe* "*principles were only falſhood.*" But the Nabob appearing to continue tardy in ſuch ‡‡ ſervice, the Company's ſeapoys, under Colo-

* Appendix E. Num. XIV. page 359.
† See Colonel *Smith*'s letter to Mr. *Verelſt*, Ibid. Num. XXI. page 365.
‡ Ibid. Num. XII. page 357.
§ Ibid. Num. XVII. page 362.
‖ Ibid. Num. XXXIX. page 380.
¶ Ibid. Num. XIX. page 364.
** Ibid. Num. XCIII. page 424.
†† Ibid. Num. XX. page 365.
‡‡ Ibid. Num. XXIV. page 367.

nel

nel *Smith*'s Aid de Camp and partner in trade, were employed for that purpoſe, while poſitive * orders were ſent by the Governor to the Rajah *Bulwantſing*, for the impriſonment and baniſhment of the *Armenians*, *Melcomb Philip* and *Gregore Cojamaul*, who reſided within his juriſdiction.

While meaſures were taking for ſeizing the perſon of Mr. *Rafael* he got intelligence thereof, and by letter from *Fyzabad*, informed the writer, that the reaſon aſſigned for his intended impriſonment was, his being an impoſtor, who falſely pretended to act for perſons under *Engliſh* protection, without authority for ſo doing; and he therefore requeſted, under the writer's hand and ſeal, ſpecific powers concerning the tranſactions he was entruſted with for his account, to be produced whenever neceſſary. In compliance with this requiſition, the writer did, in *April* 1768, ſend him up, in the *Perſian* language, powers duly authenticated for collecting his outſtanding debts and balances, according to juſtice and equity; with declaring, that whoever impeded him therein, or ſhould moleſt or impriſon him, would be made reſponſible to the writer for all conſequences. There is inſerted in the APPENDIX a † tranſlation of this paper, which certainly would have appeared unworthy of the reader's attention, had not this ſimple tranſaction been inſtanced by Mr. *Verelſt* as a high crime, and the paper dignified with the title of "*a* ‡ *proclamation iſſued in the ſtyle of a Sovereign*;" or if the tool of a Mock-Nabob at *Murſhedabad*, to whom the paper was afterwards ſhewn, had not, for ſerving an iniquitous purpoſe, been made, four months afterwards, to ſend it down to the § Preſidency with complaints of it, as an inſult on his dignity; and if the Preſident and Council, contrary to truth and the evidence of the very paper before them, had not thereon complained of it to the || Directors in *September* 1768, as a letter written in an imperious ſtyle to *Mahommed Reza Khawn*.

During the above-related proceedings, Mr. *Verelſt* having been informed that the writer had obtained from *Fyzabad*, copies of the letters which he had written for the ſeizure and baniſhment of the *Armenians*,

* Appendix E. Num. XVI. page 361. Num. XXV. page 368. and Num. XXVII. page 369.

† Ibid. Num. XXXVIII. page 379.

‡ *Verelſt*'s View, *&c.* page 41.

§ Ibid. Appendix, page 208. It was laid before the board by Preſident *Verelſt* at conſultation the 15th *Auguſt* 1768.

|| See the 103d paragraph of their letter. Appendix F. page 527.

menians, on the * 27th of *March* 1768, he ſent complaints thereon to *Sujah al Dowlah*, deſiring that Nabob to "make ſtrict inquiry "into the affair, as a matter of the moſt ſerious moment;" alleging, that "if a man of ſo little conſequence as Mr. *Bolts* could "thus penetrate into the *ſecrets* of his correſpondence, it would be "much more eaſy for men of ſuperior influence and importance "to do the ſame." And after obtaining abundance of intelligence concerning the intrigues that were then carrying on to effect the ruin of thoſe innocent men, the writer at laſt received poſitive information of their being actually impriſoned; and on the 30th *March* 1768 wrote a letter to the Preſident, on the ſubject of ſuch impriſonments.

In that † letter Mr. *Verelſt* was fully informed of the nature of the writer's concerns under the management of his *Armenian* agents, and of the loſſes that would accrue to him and them in conſequence of their impriſonment. He requeſted, if they had been guilty of miſbehaviour, that he might have time to appoint others to the care of his affairs, or that they might be releaſed if innocent; and as they had not charge of any new concerns, that they might be permitted to continue there for four months, to conclude his old ones, on the ſame footing as the agents of the Preſident himſelf, the reſt of the Council, and of other gentlemen; while he offered to engage in any bond, as a ſecurity for their good-behaviour.—In order to put an end to the vexatious conteſts which ſubſiſted among the gentlemen competitors for the ſaltpetre-trade, the writer likewiſe offered to put it on ſuch a footing as that the Company might gain thereby at leaſt fifteen thouſand pounds ſterling *per annum*, clear profit, beſides other important advantages.

Without paying any attention to thoſe parts of the writer's letter, Mr. *Verelſt* informed him, that repeated complaints had been received againſt gomaſtahs in general, in the provinces of *Owd* and *Illahabad*; and that the Company had given orders "*for the poſitive* "*prohibition, to their ſervants, of all trade whatever in thoſe pro-* "*vinces.*" He however mentioned no particular complaints he had received of the writer's agents; but, on the contrary, aſſured him, in his ſaid letter of the ‡ 31ſt *March* 1768, THAT HE KNEW OF NO ORDERS FOR IMPEDING THE BUSINESS OF HIS GOMAS-

* Appendix E. Num. XXX. page 371.
† Ibid. Num. XXXII. page 372.
‡ Ibid. Num. XXXIII. page 375.

TAHS IN PARTICULAR, IN THE DOMINIONS OF SUJAH AL DOWLAH AND BULWANTSING.

The writer * informed Governor *Verelſt*, in anſwer to his letter, that by copies of the orders which he had received, it appeared, that his gomaſtahs were particularly mentioned by name. But in order to give him an eaſy retreat, the writer attributed the Preſident's ignorance of the orders, to his having been deceived by thoſe who penned the *Perſian* letters; and ſtill requeſted the favour of orders for the releaſement of the priſoners. The compliance with this requeſt was far from the intention of Mr. *Verelſt*, who, after repeated applications, informed the writer, by another letter, dated the † 9th *April* 1768, that the orders given for recalling the gomaſtahs were general, not particular; "but that as the names of "ſuch perſons (the writer's agents) came to his knowledge, it be-"came neceſſary to point them out."

After making a number of fruitleſs applications, the writer was at laſt referred to the Select Committee, who joined in ſolemnly aſſuring him, ‡ THAT THEY, OR THE PRESIDENT, KNEW OF NO ORDERS FOR THE CONFINEMENT OF ANY OF HIS GOMASTAHS; and further informed him, that they thought he had no right to call upon them on this occaſion, having long ſince had the uſual time allowed him for the adjuſtment of all his affairs; and that as he had already been ordered to leave the country, and adviſed that *no further protection* would be given him, they were therefore determined *not to interfere*, or in any ſhape charge themſelves with any of his concerns.

Several other applications were reſpectively made to the Select Committee and Preſident and Council, on behalf of the impriſoned *Armenians*, as well by their own § relations, as by the writer, but without any effect. In the mean while, an innocent miniſter of the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*'s, whom Mr. *Verelſt* was pleaſed to ſuſpect of having furniſhed the writer with copies of his orders for impriſoning thoſe *Armenians*, to appeaſe the Preſident's wrath, was forced to ſend down a penal obligation called a ‖ *Mutchulcah*, under his hand and ſeal, whereby, according to the arbitrary cuſtoms of the Eaſt, he and his family would have been devoted to deſtruc-

* Appendix E. Num. XXXIV. page 376.
† Ibid. Num. XXXVII. page 379.
‡ Ibid. Num. L. page 387.
§ Ibid. Num. LXIX. page 402. and Num. LXXVIII. page 408.
‖ Ibid. Num. LXVIII. page 401.

tion,

tion, agreeably to the tenor of the *Mutchulcah*, if it had been proved that he had furniſhed the writer with copies of any of Mr. *Verelſt*'s letters to the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*; who himſelf was likewiſe forced to *return* all * thoſe which he had received on the ſame ſubject from the Preſident.

On ſuſpicion that the ſame kind of intelligence had been likewiſe given to the writer by the Rajah *Bulwantſing*, that Prince's Vakeel, or ambaſſador, was alſo ignominiouſly turned out of *Calcutta* by the † Preſident, without any authority from, or even communication with his Council upon the ſubject. Of this the writer duly ‡ informed the board, and even offered to prove the fact; but although a leſs affront than this, the diſgracefully turning out a *hircarah*, or ſpy, had greatly contributed to raiſe that indignation of *Serajah al Dowlah*, which terminated in the loſs of *Calcutta*, the board took no notice of the writer's information.

Not being able to get any kind of ſatisfaction from the Preſident and Council, or Select Committee, on the 18th *May* 1768, the writer cauſed a proteſt to be ſerved on them, when aſſembled in Council, by the notary public; in which he declared his demand againſt them for damages, conſequent of their impriſonment of his agents. At the ſame § conſultation that moſt extraordinary edict was reſolved on, which hath been alſo noticed in the firſt part of *Conſiderations*, &c. prohibiting all ARMENIANS, *Portugueze*, or their *deſcendants*, from reſiding or carrying on any trade, directly or indirectly, "*in any part of* India, OUT OF THE PROVINCES OF BENGAL, BAHAR, AND ORISSA," under penalty of the ſevereſt *puniſhments*, and *confiſcation* of their property.

It is recommended to the reader attentively to peruſe the proceedings of the board at the conſultation here referred to; and that he will afterwards advert to the following obſervations.—That this was *the firſt prohibition* that had been made of trade within the territories of the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*, which, by the eighth article of the treaty with that Nabob, it had been ſtipulated, that || *his Highneſs ſhould allow the* Engliſh *Company to carry on, duty-free, through-*

* Appendix E. Num. LXXIX. page 410.

† Ibid. Num. LXXVII. page 408. Num. LXXXIV. page 415. and Num. LXXXVI. page 417.

‡ Ibid. page 415.

§ Ibid. Num. LXX. page 404.

|| Dated the 16th *Auguſt* 1765. See Reports of the Houſe of Commons, 1773. vol. III. page 446.

out the whole of his dominions; that this, and the other articles of the treaty, which had never been * renounced, were confirmed by Mr. *Cartier*, General *Smith*, and Mr. *Claud Ruſſell*, in the fulleſt latitude, by a † ſubſequent treaty; that the extraordinary regulation in queſtion was originally made by the Select Committee *on the 27th* April 1768, in private; that at the aforeſaid conſultation of the 18th *May* 1768, *it was firſt ordered, that public notice ſhould be given* of this reſolution, which, however, was not done *before the 8th or 9th of* June *following*, although it was to take place *after the expiration of two months from the 27th* April 1768; that if the Preſident and Council had poſſeſſed a power to iſſue ſuch an order, it would have been impoſſible for any perſon to comply with the conditions of it, who had outſtanding concerns at the diſtance of *ſix hundred miles* from the Preſidency of *Calcutta*; and that the agents of ſuch perſons would be expoſed to the SEVEREST PUNISHMENTS, and their property to CONFISCATION, even before news of the regulation could reach them.—When the candid reader has conſidered theſe facts, he will certainly allow, that we cannot too much admire the *zeal*, *virtues*, and *abilities* of our *Calcutta* legiſlators on this occaſion.

But the writer's *Armenian* agents being brought away from the high countries, ſecured under confinement at *Murſhedabad*, and by this edict precluded from returning thither when they might chance to be releaſed; the board were alſo pleaſed, at the ſame conſultation, to conſider "the great diſadvantages reſulting from an immediate recall of *all gomaſtahs* of individuals, trading in the countries of the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*, and of the Rajah *Bulwantſing*; and thereupon reſolved to allow them to reſide there for "the ſpace of two months, for the adjuſtment of the affairs of "their conſtituents, and the collection of their outſtanding balances." For even Mr. *Verelſt* had ‡ now acknowledged, that perſons being ſeized and ſent away, without allowing them time to adjuſt their affairs, would "*find it impoſſible even to receive the debts lawfully due to them.*"

* See the letter from the Court of Directors, Appendix E. Num. XCIII. page 424.

† Dated the 29th *November* 1768. See Reports of the Houſe of Commons 1773, vol. IV. page 88. Nevertheleſs, the ſame General *Smith* being aſked by the Select Committee of the Houſe of Commons, "*Do you know of any renunciation of the eighth article "of the treaty with* Sujah Dowlah, *ſtipulating a freedom in trade?*" did not heſitate to anſwer——"*I believe I do——I underſtood that the noble Lord* Clive *gave it up to* Sujah "Dowlah.——*I have it only from hearſay.*" See General *Smith*'s evidence, Journals, vol. XXXIII. page 940.

‡ Appendix E. Num. LIX. page 393.

Thus

Thus the baniſhment of the writer's *Armenian* agents, in particular, was the object of all theſe violent and contradictory meaſures. It is however more than probable that the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah* had as much reaſon as the king to be diſſatisfied with the conduct of Colonel *Smith*'s gomaſtah, *Iſmaelbeg*, and of certain gomaſtahs who were employed by Mr. *Rumbold* at * *Goruckpoor*, a diſtrict within his own immediate juriſdiction. The Rajah *Bulwantſing* might alſo have had equal reaſon to be diſpleaſed with the behaviour of other black gomaſtahs at *Mirzapore*, in the ſervice of gentlemen of influence. But the natives of the upper countries, who are not of ſuch timid diſpoſitions as the people in *Bengal*, will reſiſt oppreſſion by force. It was, therefore, only ſuch gomaſtahs as were ſupported by much influence and power, who could commit great violences, and againſt whom the Nabob, or Rajah, might not dare to complain to the Preſidency. The *Armenians* who were employed by the writer poſſeſſed no influence; they traded entirely on a footing with other natives; and thoſe Princes, encouraged thereto as they had been, could, as we have already obſerved, have had no apprehenſions from an exertion of their own power againſt them. But the real fact was, that there were no complaints made againſt them, but ſuch as had been framed by the gentlemen who were concerned together in bringing about their confinement and expulſion; for by the very letters which were expreſly calculated to effect the impriſonment of theſe *Armenian* merchants, in particular, as agents to the writer, Governor *Vereliſt* appears † to have been firſt informed of the *great violences, extortions, and oppreſſions of gomaſtahs* by the letters he received from Colonel *Smith*.

The deſigns againſt theſe particular *Armenians* being thus accompliſhed, under ſuch pretences as have been mentioned, the Preſident and gentlemen of Council continued their own gomaſtahs in thoſe countries, and went on with their trade. The pious reſolutions of Governor *Vereliſt*, ‡ *not to grant any perwânahs or duſtucks for trade beyond the limits of the three provinces*, for the relief of the diſtreſſed natives, were not to be conſtrued to extend to himſelf, or his friends. He had not only granted a *perwânah* to Meſſrs. Colo-

* Appendix E. Num. XXIV. page 367.

† Ibid. Num. XVI. page 361. and Num. XX. page 364. See alſo *Vereliſt*'s Appendix, Num. LXXXV. and Num. LXXXVI. page 187, where he gives partial extracts, as copies of the letters here referred to.

‡ Appendix E. Num. XIII. page 359. Num. XVI. page 361. and Num. XX. page 364.

nel *Smith*, *Ruſſell*, and Company, but likewiſe to Meſſrs. * *Alexander* and *Jekyll*; and with reſpect to his own *gomaſtah*, or agent for diamonds, who was alſo continued at *Banâras*, he obtained another *perwânah* from the Nabob, † exempting him from duties on that branch of trade, and ſeverely reprimanded the Rajah *Bulwantſing* for "*demanding duties from the merchants ſelling diamonds to Mr.* Cha-"mier," HIS SAID AGENT.—In the ſame letter to that Rajah, he alſo ſtrongly *enforced the currency of* Engliſh *diſtucks* in that Prince's territories, with *reſerving to himſelf* the privilege of correcting abuſes therein; while the buſineſs pretended to be taken from *Iſmaelbeg* was transferred to the management of one *Feyaz Ally Khawn* ſtill "*on* "*account of* Engliſh *gentlemen*," who have continued the trade in thoſe provinces uninterruptedly to the preſent time.

The patience of the reader would be exhauſted in tracing the Preſident, Select Committee, and Council of *Calcutta* through all the mazes of miſrepreſentation, falſhood, and wicked policy, by which they effected, and afterwards endeavoured to ſcreen and juſtify their perſecutions of the innocent *Armenian* merchants, even in the territories of ſuch Princes as they pretended to ſay were independent, and who, from juſtice and humanity, ſought in vain to protect them. We muſt, therefore, refer our indulgent readers to the Appendix, which under the Letter E. pages 345 to 433, contains in regular order, every material paper that has come to our knowledge, and will throw further light on this matter; while we reſerve a ſeparate chapter for our obſervations on the caſes of the *Armenians* in general, and of theſe injured men in particular.—Yet in all theſe ſelfiſh purſuits the Preſident and Council had the *modeſty* to plead public orders, and pretend the ſervice of the Company; than which nothing could be more contrary to truth, or more repugnant to every principle of reaſon and equity.

But the real *merits* of our *Calcutta* reformers, on this occaſion, cannot be ſhewn in a truer light than by expoſing the duplicity of their conduct, from their own words.—Upon the letter of complaints already quoted from Colonel *Smith* to the Select Committee, the *pious* Preſident thus addreſſes the Colonel:

‡ "It is with ſome aſtoniſhment, as well as concern, that I ob-"ſerve the repreſentations you have been pleaſed to make to the

* Appendix note, page 358.

† Ibid. Num. XXIX. page 370.

‡ See Mr. *Verelſt*'s letter of the 31ſt *January* 1768 to Colonel *Smith*. Journals of the Houſe of Commons, vol. XXXIII. page 937.

" Committee, in your letter to them of the 3d inſtant, reſpecting " the private trade carried on by *Engliſh* gomaſtahs in the Sircars " of *Ghazipoor* and *Mirzapore*, and other parts of the Nabob *Sujah* " *al Dowlah*'s dominions. I therefore have taken this method to " acquaint you with my ſentiments thereon; for, notwithſtanding " I am at all times determined to preſerve and ſupport my prero- " gative in its due extent, and to endeavour at conducting all affairs " of a public nature to the beſt of my abilities, upon what I eſteem " the moſt ſteady, uniform, and ſolid plan, yet no difference of " opinion in thoſe points ſhall have any ſway with me, when mat- " ters of private concern are under my conſideration.

" The orders of the Company, and the reſolutions of the Com- " mittee, are poſitive, that no private trade ſhall be carried on " *without* theſe provinces, and the penalty to thoſe who ſhall diſ- " obey them, no leſs than diſmiſſion from the ſervice. Yet, it " appears by your letter, that they are diſobeyed, and that, too, " in ſuch a manner, as to oblige the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah* to " complain to you of the oppreſſions and extortions of *Engliſh* go- " maſtahs; the truth of which was confirmed by *Bulwantſing*.

" You have expreſſed your apprehenſions of fatality to the Com- " pany's poſſeſſions, unleſs the moſt vigorous meaſures be purſued " by the Committee to annihilate theſe complaints, ſo fraught " with pernicious conſequences; and informed the Committee of " your having aſſured *Sujah al Dowlah* how deſirous you are to " ſtrike at the root of this evil, and that it ſhould be your care, " that the perwânah for an excluſive privilege to make ſaltpetre on " account of the *Engliſh*, granted to *Iſmaelbeg*, ſhould be returned.

" Called upon, as the Committee are, in this public manner, " were they to content themſelves with only recording your let- " ter upon the face of their proceedings, the Court of Directors " might very poſſibly conceive an idea of your attentive and faith- " ful ſervices at their expence, or perhaps ſee cauſe to ſuſpect their " diſintereſtedneſs and integrity. If, on the contrary, they ſecond " your remonſtrance with that degree of vigour you tell them they " ſhould, by reſolving to detect and puniſh every aggreſſor, may " not your name happen to ſtand recorded at the head of the liſt? " You have particularized *Iſmaelbeg*; ſhould they inquire by whom " he has been employed, will it not be found that he was em- " ployed by you? Employed, not only in carrying on a trade pro- " hibited by the Company, but even to raiſe that trade into a mo-

" nopoly

" nopoly throughout the greateſt part of the dominions of our " friend and ally ?"

To which, in his letter * of the 8th *February* 1768, the *zealous* and *diſintereſted* Colonel thus replied :

" Upon what part of my conduct, Sir, can you found ſuch a " queſtion ? Wherein have I acted different from you ? — Could I " conceive the purchaſing of ſaltpetre in *Sujah al Dowlah*'s domi- " nions to be fundamentally wrong, when you yourſelf wrote to " *Sujah al Dowlah* in favour of Mr. *Ruſſell*'s gomaſtah ? Could I " conceive it to be a prohibited commerce, when you yourſelf en- " couraged it ? Could I imagine it contrary to the regulations of " the Select Committee, when you, who preſided in that Com- " mittee, made uſe of your influence to introduce it ?"

Such, in matters of internal policy and external commerce, have been the cruel and tyrannic tranſactions of a government of civil and military harpies, in ſupport of their own moſt iniquitous and oppreſſive monopolies in trade ; which were alike hurtful to individuals, to the Company, to the ſubjected provinces, and to this kingdom : and which not being warranted by the laws or practice of *Hindoſtan*, much leſs of *Great Britain*, can be fairly contemplated in no other light, than as crimes of the greateſt magnitude, and which merit the ſevereſt puniſhment.

* See Journals of the Houſe of Commons, vol. XXXIII. page 939.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

ON the TYRANNIC, MILITARY, and ARBITRARY PRETENDED JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS of the COMPANY's RULING-SERVANTS in BENGAL, from their IMPRISONMENT of the WRITER's AGENTS, until their illegally STRIPPING him of his OFFICE of ALDERMAN, and their FORCIBLE SEIZURE and EMBARKATION of his perſon, on board the SHIP VALENTINE, to be tranſported to EUROPE.

THE many deſerved miſcarriages which the gentlemen of the Committee and Council at *Calcutta* experienced in their commercial undertakings, did not a little contribute to the increaſe of their animoſity towards the writer, whoſe trade, in the concluſion of his concerns, continued as proſperous to himſelf, as it was really ſerviceable to the Company and country, in ſpite of all the obſtructions they could give it. But deſperate malice at length inſpired them with the reſolution to apply military power, for the accompliſhment of their ends, in order to cruſh by this, the laſt inſtrument of tyranny, what they could not undermine by craft.

The object of their projected monopoly of cotton was of ſuch magnitude, that it could not be accompliſhed with all the money, influence, and power of the whole confederacy; for, beſides what the writer and others brought from the weſtern countries down the *Ganges*, far greater quantities than had been expected were likewiſe imported by ſea. They, therefore, found themſelves greatly diſappointed in their expectations; ſo that Colonel *Smith* might have had good reaſon for aſſerting, * *he did not gain any advantage by his purchaſe of Mr.* Verelſt's *ſhare*; though the merchant might have outwitted the ſoldier in the bargain.

But all poſſible means were uſed by the monopolizers in power for the moſt advantageous diſpoſal of their cotton. In the province of *Patna*, under *Shetabroy*, a new and unprecedented duty was laid on what came down the *Ganges*, which almoſt amounted to a prohibition of importation in that way; and at *Murſhedabad*, *Mahommed Reza Khawn* was employed to diſpoſe of a conſiderable quantity

* See Journals of the Houſe of Commons, vol. XXXIII. page 939.

that

that was conſigned to him, with a *recommendatory* letter from Governor *Verelſt*. And ſo very ſtrenuous was that MINISTER, in the beneficial diſpoſal of this conſignment to the Zemindars and other inhabitants, that the poor people have been ſeen going, in a body, with cotton on their * heads as a ſignal of diſtreſs, to complain to Mr. *Francis Sykes*, then *Engliſh* Reſident, or Company's dictator, at the *Durbar*.

With reſpect to the writer's particular trade, a party of the Company's black-troops, detached from Colonel *Smith*'s brigade at *Illahabad*, actually ſtopped and ſeized a fleet of his boats, on their way to market, loaded with cotton, which, after many difficulties, was obliged to be unloaded and reſold, to a conſiderable loſs, at *Banáras*. His black-gomaſtahs in the province of *Illahabad* were impriſoned and † flogged; and Captain *Gabriel Harper*, the Colonel's agent and partner at *Oude*, not only took and forcibly detained from another black-gomaſtah of the writer's, two *perwânahs* for ſaltpetre, granted him by the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*, under his hand and ſeal, but the people employed by him in the ſaltpetre-buſineſs, cauſed the writer's warehouſes and property likewiſe to be plundered; particularly at a place called *Lalpoor Carowty*, where he thereby loſt three thouſand maunds of ſaltpetre, beſides ſeveral boats.

In conſequence of a requeſt from Colonel *Smith*, permiſſion had been granted him by the Select Committee, on the ‡ 23d *February* 1768, to repair to the Preſidency, in order to prepare for *Europe*. Diſappointed in his views of trade, and perhaps not a little piqued at the protection and countenance ſhewn by the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah* and the Rajah *Bulwantſing* to his rivals, the *Armenian* merchants, he returned to the Preſidency with no ſmall degree of reſentment towards the writer, whoſe correſpondence with thoſe *Armenians* had contributed to thwart the "*commercial* § *ſyſtem*" of the Colonel and his partners.

Soon after his return to the Preſidency, therefore, on the 4th *May* 1768, the Colonel entered a flaming || minute on the proceedings of the Council againſt the writer; in which he *emphatically*

* *Mynheer Bacheracht*, the preſent Governor of the *Dutch* ſettlements in *Bengal*, was at *Moydapore* an eye-witneſs of one of theſe extraordinary viſits to Mr. *Sykes*.

† Appendix E. Num. LXXXII. page 412.

‡ Ibid. page 363.

§ Journals, vol. XXXIII. page 939.

|| Appendix F. Num. XXIII. page 482. Alſo *Verelſt*'s Appendix, page 207.

reminded

reminded the board, that their former reſolutions for ſending him a priſoner to *England* ſtood unrevoked and unexecuted, although he had continued *correſponding with the country-powers*; that the conſequences of ſuffering him with impunity to bid defiance to the authority of the board, were ſo very obvious, that it was unneceſſary to mention them: but when he read an unanimous DECREE of the board, "for taking ſuch meaſures, on this occaſion, as appeared abſolutely neceſſary for the *public ſervice*, he could not but conjure the Preſident and Council to ſupport the dignity of government, by enforcing obedience to their own reſolutions."

In conſequence of this minute, it was unanimouſly "*agreed* and "*reſolved*, that the writer ſhould be poſitively ſent a priſoner to "*Europe*, by the firſt ſhip to be diſpatched from the Preſidency."

Mr. *Edward Fenwick*, a gentleman in the ſervice of the Company, and employed in the Secretary's office, firſt gave information of this reſolution of the board to the writer, who ſaw himſelf thereby likely to be deprived of what remained of his fortune, after the impriſonment of his agents. Thus threatened with violence, and finding no redreſs could be had from the Governor and Council, who had already violated every principle of private honour and public juſtice; the duty which he owed to himſelf and his family, as well as to thoſe who had entruſted him with much of their property, all which would be expoſed to entire loſs from the ſeizure and tranſportation of his perſon, now prompted him to ſeek protection from the laws of *Great Britain*. This, however unfavourable the proſpect, being his only remaining reſource, he therefore reſolved to apply for the protection of the Grand Jury. He further thought that ſuch an application would give the Preſident and Council an opportunity of legally proving ſuch miſdemeanours, if any exiſted, as they might think would juſtify their reſolutions againſt him. From the diſpoſition, at that time, of the community in general, if he had been found guilty of any attempt ſubverſive either of the public peace, or the intereſts of the Company, it was beyond a doubt, that the juries would very readily have concurred with the reſolutions of the Governor and Council; who themſelves would alſo neceſſarily ſit in judgment on the trial of his complaint at the General Quarter Seſſion.

Yet, under all theſe diſadvantages, on the 27th *May* 1768, the writer ventured to preſent to the Grand Jury, then ſworn and impanelled, an * information againſt Colonel *Richard Smith*, for hav-

* Appendix F. Num. XXIV. page 483.

ing illegally conſpired with other perſons, and agreed together in writing, to ſeize, impriſon, and tranſport him to parts unknown, beyond the ſeas: on which ground he claimed the protection of the Jury, for the ſecurity of his perſon and property, and of that of other perſons under his management. He further prayed that Colonel *Smith* and his acceſſaries might be bound to preſerve the peace, and, on conviction of the crimes charged againſt them, be obliged to give ſpecial bail for their future good behaviour; with proper ſecurities for the ſum of one hundred and ten thouſand pounds ſterling; and for ſuch other loſſes as might accrue to the writer, in caſe the ſaid Colonel *Smith* and his aſſociates ſhould illegally make uſe of the military force under their command, to carry their reſolutions againſt him into execution.

After preſenting this information, the jury required of the writer to produce his witneſſes to prove the facts aſſerted therein; whereupon he gave in the names of ſeveral gentlemen: among which were thoſe of Mr. *Simeon Droz*, Sheriff and Secretary to the Council; Mr. *Edward Baber*, Deputy Secretary and Clerk of the Peace, and other clerks in office. The juſtices on the bench were Governor *Verelſt*, *James Alexander*, *Claud Ruſſell*, *William Alderſey*, and *Charles Floyer*, Eſquires.

The Grand Jury then proceeded to call upon the witneſſes, in order to take their evidence; but particularly upon Meſſrs. *Simeon Droz*, *Edward Baber*, *William Dumbleton*, and *Shearman Bird*, gentlemen who were then preſent. They firſt ſent Mr. *George Lear*, one of the jurors, with Mr. *Droz*, to Mr. *Baber* the Clerk of the Peace, in order to be ſworn before the judges, which the court refuſed to admit; alleging, that the "calling upon one of the officers "of the court, who was then upon duty, in ſo ſudden a manner, "without having obtained their leave, or given him any previous "notice, or informing him what he was to be ſworn to, was a "very improper method of proceeding; and unleſs the affair was "of very material conſequence, and his evidence immediately ne-"ceſſary, they deſired it might be diſpenſed with."—Upon this, the Jury ſent Mr. *Lear*, firſt, with Mr. *Baber*, then with Mr. *Dumbleton*, and afterwards with Mr. *Bird*; to all of whom the court ſucceſſively objected, for the ſame reaſons as before alleged; with further adding, "they could not but remark, that in the perſons "of the Sheriff, Clerk of the Peace, Meſſrs. *Dumbleton* and *Bird*; "Mr. *Lear* had called upon the Secretary, Aſſiſtant Secretary, and "Aſſiſtants to the Preſident and Council of *Fort William*, in their

"Secretary's

" Secretary's office; that the two latter were young perſons barely " turned of ſixteen years of age, who were entruſted with the " knowledge of the records and proceedings of the Governor and " Council, which they were bound to keep ſecret, under penalty " of forfeiting the Company's ſervice; and that if Mr. *Bolts* had " called upon theſe young perſons as witneſſes, in order to make " them diſcloſe the proceedings of the Governor and Council, they " could not but object to young perſons being called upon in ſo " unprepared a manner."

Mr. *Lear* then withdrew; and the gentlemen of the Grand Jury ſoon after came into court with the following addreſs to the judges:

" The Grand Jury, impanelled and ſworn at a Quarter Seſ- " ſions, held this 27th day of *May* 1768, in the town of *Calcutta*, " take this method to acquaint the Honourable Juſtices of the " Peace, now ſitting, that an information has been laid before " them, on oath, by *William Bolts* inhabitant of *Calcutta*; where- " upon the Grand Jury ſummoned two witneſſes, named in the " information, in order to their being examined; one of whom " being the Sheriff, and the other, Clerk of the Peace, the bench " of juſtices thought proper to refuſe their attendance on the " Grand Jury; whereupon other witneſſes were ſummoned by an " officer of the court, as the Grand Jury conceive, in the uſual " manner; which the bench of juſtices were pleaſed to diſapprove " of, as the Grand Jury underſtood by a meſſage from the bench, " delivered to them by Mr. *George Lear*, one of their body; who " alſo delivered further, that the bench were of opinion, *that the* " *Grand Jury ſeemed to aim at aſſuming a power ſuperior to* THE " GOVERNMENT.

" The Grand Jury are deeply concerned to find that their en- " deavours to acquit themſelves of their duty, as bound by their " oaths, ſhould have brought upon them ſo ſevere a reflection from " the bench, which they are not in the leaſt conſcious of having de- " ſerved; and they will venture to ſay, that no Grand Jury was " ever better diſpoſed to THE GOVERNMENT than the preſent.

" In caſe the bench do perſevere in their reſolution, of not per- " mitting the Grand Jury to examine witneſſes upon oath, touch- " ing the ſaid information, and refuſe to ſwear in ſuch witneſſes, " the Grand Jury have no other method of proceeding left (as " without the examination of witneſſes they cannot collect the " opinions of the jurors) but to deliver in the ſaid information to

" the bench of juſtices, with this addreſs, *who will then be anſwer-*
" *able for all conſequences.*

(Signed) CORNELIUS GOODWIN,
Foreman."

The jurors were then deſired to re-conſider their proceedings; and after retiring for ſome time, they returned into court, and again preſented their addreſs unaltered. Upon this the judges told the jurors " their preſentment was really *a miſrepreſentation of facts:*" and, with aſſigning ſuch frivolous reaſons as were calculated to evade taking cognizance of the writer's complaints, as inſerted at large in the * Appendix, they abruptly adjourned the court to the 27th of *Auguſt* 1768; although they knew there were ſeveral *Engliſhmen*, then priſoners for miſdemeanours, and demanding their trials, to which they had a legal right.

The official proceedings of the Preſident and Council, which contain their orders for the government of the Company's ſettlements, having heretofore been conſidered as public records, to which every individual had acceſs; it was reſerved for Governor *Verelſt* and his coadjutors, to ſit in ſolemn judgment on a bench of juſtice and declare, that they contained ſecrets which could not be divulged to a Grand Jury by the Company's ſervants, " without *perjuring* " *themſelves, or forfeiting their fidelity to the Company.*"

However, on ſuch principles for judging, did the Preſident and Council proceed to diſmiſs Mr. *Edward Fenwick* from the ſervice, though bound by no oath of ſecrecy, for divulging to an accuſed party their reſolution concerning him. The writer, who ſuſpected what might happen, had given in a liſt of the names of ſixteen † other witneſſes beſides Mr. *Fenwick*, whom he alſo cautioned, with regard to ſpeech, but who, unconſcious of any crime, on being queſtioned by Mr. Secretary *Droz* thereon, did freely acknowledge the informations he had given the writer. What paſſed reſpecting that injured gentleman, from the time of his diſmiſſion to that of his reſtoration to the Company's ſervice, with the ſenti-

* See the proceedings, Appendix F. Num. XXV. page 485. And it may be proper here to mention, that, agreeably to their adjournment, the juſtices did meet on the 27th of *Auguſt*. But being apprehenſive that the writer would again exhibit his complaint, they only proceeded to call over and *diſmiſs* the juries, and then adjourned the court to the 27th of the following month; before which time they took care to impriſon him.

† See note, Appendix, page 484.

ments

ments of the Court of Directors on that tranſaction, may be alſo ſeen in the * Appendix.

But the writer was not only left without remedy from the laws of *England* by ſo arbitrary an interpoſition of the Governor and Council, then ſitting as Judges at the quarter-ſeſſions, but, for a long time afterwards, they likewiſe detained from him the copies which he had applied for, of the proceedings of the Court: and which were finally delivered to him, FALSIFIED.

The reaſon alleged for this extraordinary procraſtination, as the writer was informed, by letter, from the Clerk of the Peace, Mr. *Edward Baber*, was, that one of the Juſtices had loſt or miſlaid the proteſt of the Grand Jury. Fortunately, one of the Jurors had preſerved a copy of the proteſt, and delivered it to the writer, who having ſhewn it to the Clerk, the exiſtence of the pretended-loſt original was at laſt acknowledged, and after a delay of a month and three days, certain papers, under the official ſignature of Mr. *Baber*, were delivered to him, as true copies of the records of the Court of Seſſion.

But the † difference between the contents of thoſe papers and the true records of the proceedings of the Court, on the 27th of *May* 1768, was too groſs to eſcape the notice of a man ſo deeply intereſted therein as the writer. Not truſting, however, to his own memory, he ſhewed them to ſeveral gentlemen of the jury, who all confirmed him in his opinion, that *they were falſified* with a view of throwing the blame of quaſhing his complaint on the gentlemen of the grand jury. Mr. *Baber* too refuſed to give information, on being aſked, which of the juſtices had pretended to have loſt the original proteſt of the grand jury, or which of them had privately drawn up or dictated the proceedings as they then ſtood recorded, and to which he had been induced to ſign his name; unleſs compelled ſo to do by a court of judicature.

The writer, therefore, found himſelf without any other remedy than that of proteſting againſt the Governor and Council, in their judicial capacities, for all loſſes and damages that might accrue to him from their arbitrary obſtruction of the due courſe of public juſtice. It being alſo currently reported, that they intended to ſend him by force a priſoner to *England*, in cuſtody of Captain

* Appendix F. Num. XXVI. and XXVII. pages 488 and 489, alſo parag. XCVII. to XCIX. page 526, and par. LXXXIII. page 553.

† This difference will fully appear in the proceedings of the Court, as inſerted in the Appendix, Letter F. Num. XXV. and explained in the note, page 485.

Charles

Charles Purvis, on board the ſhip *Valentine*, then under diſpatch, he at the ſame time proteſted againſt them, and againſt all captains and officers military or naval, or other perſons whomſoever, that might, directly or indirectly, be concerned in the ſeizure, impriſonment, or tranſportation of his perſon: and on the 12th of *Auguſt* 1768, he perſonally aſſiſted in the ſerving of Captain *Purvis* with an authenticated copy of that * proteſt; which three days afterwards was officially delivered to the board of Council by Mr. *John Holme*, the Notary Public.

Thus menaced with the ſevereſt puniſhment under death, and with the ſacrifice of fortune and every proſpect in life, it was of the utmoſt conſequence to the writer to obtain authentic copies of the proceedings of the Select Committee, on which they founded his firſt ſentence of baniſhment, of the 18th of *April* 1767; and alſo of the real proceedings of the Court of Quarter-ſeſſions, of the 27th of *May* 1768. But there was no proſpect of obtaining either, except by a proſecution in the Mayor's Court of the gentlemen whoſe names were ſubſcribed to the papers delivered to the writer. With this view, therefore, and without any deſign of injuring thoſe gentlemen, on the 23d of *Auguſt* 1768, he filed, in the Mayor's Court, one bill againſt Mr. *Charles William Boughton*, Clerk to the Select Committee, and another againſt Mr. *Edward Baber*, Clerk of the Peace.

The complaiſance which Mr. *Baber* had ſhewn, in ſetting his hand, officially as Clerk, to the falſified records of a court of juſtice, had introduced him to the more intimate acquaintance of Governor *Verelſt*; and upon the report of that gentleman, on the 26th *Auguſt* 1768, the Governor informed the † board, "as a farther proof of "the writer's miſconduct, that inſtead of duly executing the cove-"nants ſent out by the Company, prohibiting any of their ſervants "receiving preſents, he did elude their orders; and inſtead of exe-"cuting them himſelf, employed his writer to ſign his name for "him, who was alſo one of the ſubſcribing witneſſes to the deed."

* Appendix F. Num. XXVIII. page 490.

† See Mr. *Verelſt*'s minute of the 26th of *Auguſt* 1768, Appendix, Letter F. Num. XXIX. page 494. Mr. *Verelſt*, in the Appendix to his book, page 209, has dated this paper in 1765. If this was not an error of the preſs, it was artfully calculated to ſcreen the infamy of raking up and miſrepreſenting a ſimple and innocent tranſaction of three years before, in order to injure the writer, without ſerving his employers, or anſwering any good purpoſe whatſoever thereby.

A few days afterwards Mr. *Verelſt* repeated this information; which was drawn up in ridiculous form, and on the 5th *September* 1768 laid before the board. The colouring in this ſecond information was greatly heightened, and the moſt ſimple and harmleſs tranſaction, which had paſſed above three years before, while the writer was in the ſervice of the Company, was therein ſet in the moſt criminal light, in order thereon to ground a heavy charge againſt him. It was not ſufficient for the INFORMER and Preſident of the Council to try the fact, but he proceeded to acquaint the board, that "the "ſaid *William Bolts*, being evilly minded and diſpoſed, and wick-"edly and fraudulently intending, contriving, and deſigning to de-"ceive, defraud, and impoſe upon the Company, did, inſtead of "ſigning and executing the indenture himſelf, *ſeduce* his writer to "*counterfeit* and ſubſcribe his name to it, as if it had been really "and truly ſigned and executed by himſelf, he then knowing the "ſame to be *falſe and fraudulent*, whereby he, *William Bolts*, be-"came guilty of a very *high crime and miſdemeanour*."

It hath been already ſhewn, that the Preſident and Council had determined to ſend the writer a priſoner to *England*, although he ſtill continued in his office of one of the Judges of the Mayor's Court. But when this reſolution was to be put in execution, they appeared afraid of committing ſo flagrant a breach of his Majeſty's charter. Their abſurd application to the Mayor's Court, of the 1ſt of *October* 1767, to apply for another Alderman, had not produced the deſired effect; and it afterwards appeared, that the writer's mode of executing the covenants, *in May or June* 1765, was therefore pitched upon, by the profound wiſdom of the board, as a charge againſt him, on which they reſolved, *in September* 1768, to ground their removal of him from his office, before they ſent him a priſoner to *England*.

He was ſerved with a copy of Mr. *Verelſt*'s charge, and ſummoned to appear before the board, on the 5th *September* 1768, to anſwer thereto; but without any intimation being given him, that he was to be thereby affected in his judicial capacity, as an Alderman. He was, however, glad to have this opportunity given him, which was the firſt and only one he ever had, of being heard in his defence, againſt the accuſations of the Preſident and Council, although they themſelves were both the accuſers and the judges. As it was thought neceſſary to have a military officer ſit in judgment on the caſe of ſo * *dangerous an inhabitant*, Colonel *Smith* was alſo ſummoned on this

* The character given of him in Colonel *Smith*'s own words, already quoted. See Appendix E. Num. VII. page 351.

buſineſs,

buſineſs, which, notwithſtanding all the precaution and ſecrecy that were employed on the important occaſion, at laſt terminated in the intire diſgrace of the Preſident and Council, and the no leſs ſhame of the Court of *Eaſt India* Directors.

Agreeably to the ſummons, the writer attended the board on the morning of the ſaid 5th of *September*, with his defence, ready prepared in writing; when the information of the Preſident was produced, and an affidavit of Mr. *Edward Baber*, which had been likewiſe prepared ſome days before, and ſworn to in private, was alſo read. But as the writer did not find Mr. *Verelſt* there, he inſiſted, that, unleſs he was confronted with his accuſer, he would not anſwer any queſtions that ſhould be put to him. He was thereupon deſired to retire, and the doors were ſhut upon him; while the board, conſiſting of Mr. *Cartier*, Colonel *Smith*, Meſſrs. *Becher*, *Ruſſell*, and *Floyer*, held a private conſultation among themſelves, during which ſeveral meſſages were carried, by Mr. *Edward Baber*, to the Preſident, and his anſwers brought back to the board; and Mr. *John Holme*, Regiſter of the Mayor's Court, was ſeveral times called in, and privately conſulted.

Upon ſeeing this extraordinary procedure of men pretending to ſit as a court of juſtice, the writer ſent in a meſſage, by Mr. *Thomas Henchman*, requeſting that the doors might be opened, and himſelf admitted to be preſent at the proceedings which ſo much concerned him; when the board were pleaſed to anſwer, as he was informed by Mr. *Henchman*, "that he ſhould be acquainted with them afterwards."

The informer did not appear that morning, nor would the board admit of the writer's reading, or having read to him, ſuch proceedings as had been already recorded: but upon Mr. *Verelſt*'s then conſenting to appear, they adjourned to the evening, and required the writer's attendance at the ſame time.

In the evening he attended; and his accuſer being then preſent, he proceeded to read his defence: in the courſe of which he declared he had ſeveral queſtions to put to Mr. Preſident *Verelſt*. The Preſident thereupon deſired to withdraw, alleging, "that he knew nothing "farther of the matter than what was contained in the information, "which he had already called upon Mr. *Baber* to ſupport; that if "Mr. *Bolts* had any queſtions to put to him, and pleaſed to commit "them *to writing*, he would anſwer them in the moſt candid man-"ner in his power; but that he would not wiſh to be preſent when "Mr. *Bolts* entered upon his defence, for reaſons he would aſſign, "ſhould the board think proper to call on him."

Upon

Upon theſe ſuggeſtions, the board indulgently permitted Mr. *Vereſt* to depart, notwithſtanding the objections earneſtly urged for his attendance by the writer; who thereupon refuſed to read his defence, but promiſed to tranſmit it to the Court of *Eaſt India* Directors, to whom he engaged to give the moſt honourable ſatisfaction: and he was thereupon ordered to withdraw, but was not for ſome days acquainted with the reſolution which the board had taken upon this inquiry.

There is inſerted at large, in the * Appendix, the proceedings of the board of the 5th *September* 1768, on Mr. *Vereſt*'s information, together with the writer's † defence, of the ſame date, in an addreſs to the Preſident and Council; which was delivered in to the board, with two ‡ other letters, to be tranſmitted to the Court of Directors.

The writer therein acknowledged, that he had not perſonally ſigned the covenants, but had directed his || book-keeper to do it for him; that by his authority they were ſo ſigned, witneſſed, and afterwards perſonally delivered by him, as his own act and deed; that to ſuppoſe the covenants, ſo executed, were not binding, betrayed the moſt conſummate ignorance; but to avoid the imputation of any intended deceit, if the board doubted their validity, he offered either to acknowledge them afreſh as his own act and deed, or to enter into any other indemnification that could with juſtice be required, for the ſecurity of the honourable Company. The Governor well knew that this plain defence was made on the ſpot by the writer, in anſwer to his malicious accuſation *in September* 1768, although, with unparalleled aſſurance, in his publication of *December* 1772, Mr. *Vereſt* concludes his miſrepreſentation of this tranſaction with theſe words: § "Yet he *(Bolts)* NOW attempts to juſtify his conduct, *becauſe a* "*Lawyer has lately corrected his former error*, by informing him, "that his ſignature, being made with his conſent, muſt be conſi-"dered as his own act."

It had not been alleged, that the writer had ever infringed thoſe covenants; and to ſhew the board that ſuch had never been his intention, he gave them proof, that very ſoon after the execution of his covenants, he had refuſed a jagueer of thirty thouſand ¶ rupees

* See Appendix F. Num. XXX. page 496.
† Ibid. Num. XXXII. page 505.
‡ Ibid. Num. XXXIII. and XXXIV. pages 520 and 521.
|| A *Portugueſe* writer, a native of the country.
§ *Vereſt*'s View, page 35.
¶ 3750*l.* ſterling.

per annum, which the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah* had freely and without any ſolicitation offered him, as a mark of friendſhip, for ſome ſmall ſervices received while living at the writer's houſe at *Banáras*.

The proof of this fact is likewiſe given in the * Appendix, with the addreſs already referred to, which contained the writer's defence, in anſwer to Preſident *Verelſt*'s charge. In this addreſs he recriminated ſtrongly on the conduct of the Governor and Council, particularly in ſupport of the truth of his former memorial, of the 12th of *October* 1767; which, as well as the facts aſſerted in his addreſs of the 5th of *September* 1768, he offered fully to prove before the board. But this did not ſuit the Preſident and Council, no more than the furniſhing the writer with copies of the other charges that had been privately recorded againſt him on their conſultations, for which he again ſolemnly called upon them without effect. The candid reader, who has the patience to peruſe the papers here referred to, will make indulgent allowances for the great defects in ſtyle of writings drawn up haſtily, in the moſt diſtracted and harraſſed ſtate which it was poſſible for a man's mind to be immerſed in, by the combined efforts of unbounded iniquity and power. He will alſo make equal allowances for the falſe ideas which it was natural for a man to entertain who had learned more from books than experience, concerning the reality of the liberty, the protection, and the facility of obtaining juſtice, with which the ſubject is flattered in theory under a *Britiſh* government.

It was not till the 9th of *September* 1768, that the writer diſcovered the Preſident and Council were going to remove him from his ſeat, as an Alderman in the Mayor's Court; and that the Regiſter of the Court, Mr. *John Holme*, was, in concert with them, acting an underhand and treacherous part, to forward that meaſure; having officially received a letter for the Court, from the Preſident and Council, relative to ſuch diſmiſſion, which, of his own authority, he, the Regiſter, † had returned to be corrected, and rendered more effectual.

On the writer's complaining to the Court, of this conduct of the Regiſter, a full Court was ordered to be ſummoned, purpoſely to take this matter into conſideration, and to determine whether he ſhould not be diſmiſſed from his offices, as a ſervant of the Court. But during the debates on theſe proceedings of the 9th of *September*, the Regiſter added to his former crime, by an indecent behaviour, for which he

* See Appendix, page 519.

† See a copy of the proceedings of the Mayor's Court, on the 9th of *September* 1768, in the Appendix, F. Num. XXXI. page 504.

was

was ordered to be committed to priſon: and although, at the writer's interceſſion, his commitment was remitted, yet his conduct in both caſes was of ſuch a nature, that it may ſafely be aſſerted he would not have eſcaped diſmiſſion, as a ſervant of the Court, in a ſimilar ſituation, in any other part of the *Britiſh* dominions.

On the 13th of *September* 1768, a full Court was aſſembled; during the interval between which and the laſt Court, the notification from the Preſident and Council, for the diſmiſſion of the writer from his ſeat as an Alderman, had been made perfect, under date of the 5th of *September*, and re-delivered to the Regiſter; on whoſe behalf alſo ſtrong applications were made, by Mr. *Verelſt* and other members of the Council, to the Aldermen. It may be hard to ſay how far the minds of any gentlemen on the bench might have been influenced by fears of being deprived of duſtucks or ſuch other *douceurs* as had been allowed them by the * Preſident; or of being themſelves diſmiſſed from their offices, or ſent priſoners to *England*. But although the Court was called for their determination concerning the Regiſter's conduct, they poſtponed the buſineſs of the day on which they were expreſsly ſummoned, to take into previous conſideration the letter of the Preſident and Council relative to the removal of the writer.

It appeared, by the proceedings of the Preſident and Council, of the 5th of *September*, on Mr. *Verelſt*'s information of the writer's not having ſigned the covenants with his own hand, that upon his refuſing to make his defence, except in the face of his accuſer, "they were of opinion he had by no means acquitted himſelf of *the* "*charge* brought againſt him; but, on the contrary, had *in part* "*acknowledged it*. They therefore *deemed him* an improper perſon "to be a member of a court of juſtice; and by virtue of the power "veſted in them by the royal charter, *granted them* in the 29th year "of the reign of King *George* the Second, they accordingly *diſqualified* him from being any longer an Alderman of the honourable "the Mayor's Court."

Their letter to the Court on this occaſion was as follows:

"To the honourable the Mayor's Court of *Calcutta*.

"GENTLEMEN,

"The honourable Preſident and Council having, by virtue of "the royal charter granted in the 26th year of the reign of our So-"vereign Lord *George* the Second, *for reaſonable cauſe*, thought pro-

* See Mr. *Verelſt*'s ideas of the propriety of ſuch *benevolent* diſtributions. Appendix, pages 220 and 221.

" per to remove Mr. *William Bolts* from ſitting as an Alderman in " your Court, I have it in command from them to acquaint you, " that he is accordingly removed, and his ſeat vacated.

I am, Gentlemen,

Fort William, Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,
the 5th Sept. 1768. (Signed) EDWARD BABER, Sec."

The Court taking the ſaid letter into conſideration were of opinion, " that the notification of the Preſident and Council, received " by the Court, was grounded on a power veſted in them by the " charter; and that by the aforeſaid power Mr. *William Bolts* ſhould " ſtand diſmiſſed, and that his ſeat as an Alderman of the Court " ſhould be vacated accordingly:" one Alderman alone diſſenting from this determination, becauſe the nature of the complaint againſt the writer had not been ſhewn to the Court, who ought to be the judges of their own members; and becauſe, in his opinion, the Preſident and Council had no power to diſmiſs an Alderman, without the concurrence of the Mayor's Court.

The proceedings of that day, inſerted in the * Appendix, are of a curious nature, and will ſerve to evince the weight of the arguments adduced in the firſt part of *Conſiderations on India Affairs*, for the neceſſity of rendering the Mayor's Courts wholly independent of the Preſident and Council; as they ought to be made at all the other ſettlements of the Company in *India*, where Courts of Juſtice are ſtill ſhamefully permitted to ſubſiſt, under the ſame terrors and dependance as the late Court at *Calcutta*.

As the favourite object of the Governor and Council, with reſpect to the writer, was now accompliſhed, he had nothing remaining to expect but conſequential ruin. Great induſtry had been exerted to inculcate a belief, that he had merited diſmiſſion from his ſeat in the Mayor's Court, by a crime of a very heinous nature: and as there was no printing in the ſettlement, it was difficult for him to vindicate his injured character, while he was every inſtant expecting to be ſeized by a military force. He, however, thought the community had a right to be informed of the grounds on which one of their magiſtrates had been deprived of his office, and was to be ſeized and tranſported beyond ſea, like a felon. He, therefore, cauſed a paper to be ſtuck up in two or three public places, wherein he advertiſed for perſons to work a printing-preſs; and in the mean time offered to communicate in manuſcript ſeveral matters which it intimately

* Appendix F. Num. XXXV. page 522.

concerned

concerned every individual to be acquainted with.——There was nothing in this paper that could give offence to an unprejudiced mind; nor ſhould we have troubled the reader with ſo trivial a circumſtance, if it had not been given by Mr. *Verelſt* in his * book, and by that gentleman and the Council in *Bengal* ſent to the Court of Directors, as a convincing proof of the † turbulency of the writer's diſpoſition. It has, therefore, alſo a place in our ‡ Appendix.

The board were ſo anxious to execute their reſolutions for ſeizing and ſending the writer a priſoner to *Europe*, that they would not allow him the uſual time of fourteen days, granted by charter in the caſe of an Alderman's amotion, for an appeal to his Majeſty in Council. On the 13th *September* 1768, they took into conſideration his letters of the 5th and 12th, when Mr. *Verelſt* § "deſired it might be recorded, that he ſolemnly declared every aſſertion contained in Mr. *Bolts*'s letter to the Court of Directors, "which tended to reflect on his character, was *infamouſly ſcandalous and falſe*, and that he ſhould particularly anſwer Mr. *Bolts*'s "accuſations, when more at leiſure."——They further remarked, that it became more particularly incumbent on them to enforce their reſolution of *November* 1767, for ſeizing the perſon of the writer, and forcibly ſending him to *England*; becauſe, as they alleged, he had obſtinately refuſed to comply with their repeated orders for that purpoſe; had perſiſted to inſult their authority and government, and to ſubvert the principles of ſubordination; and had thereby aggravated every circumſtance of his conduct.

The Preſident likewiſe informed the board of the doubts, in point of legality, which Captain *Purvis* had expreſſed about receiving and detaining him on board the ſhip *Valentine*, and therefore, in order to remove every apprehenſion of that kind entertained by the Captain, they agreed and reſolved to give him an indemnification, being, as they ſaid, *convinced of the legality of the meaſure, from ſeveral acts of parliament*; and that it would meet with the approbation of the Court of Directors.

* See his Appendix, page 210.

† See the laſt paragraph of the poſtſcript to their general letter *per Valentine*. Appendix F. Num. XLVI. page 535.

‡ Ibid. Num. XXXVIII. page 528.

§ Ibid. Num. XXXVI. page 524.

On

On the 19th *September* 1768, the final * meeting was held on this buſineſs, by the Preſident and Council; at which Colonel *Smith* entered a minute, in his uſual ſtyle, againſt the writer's veracity, and particularly in ſupport of the independency of the poor MOGUL EMPEROR, againſt a paragraph contained in the writer's letter of the 5th; which, as it relates more immediately to the country-politics, ſhall be taken further notice of in a ſubſequent chapter. In conſequence of the doubts which Captain *Charles Purvis* had expreſſed concerning the legality of receiving the writer on board the Ship *Valentine*, when ſent againſt his own conſent, the Captain was alſo called before them; and after that buſineſs was adjuſted, a ſecurity † bond for fifty thouſand pounds ſterling was given him, as an indemnification for conveying the writer a priſoner to *England*.

Under the ſame date, the ſeveral official-orders deemed requiſite for this buſineſs, were likewiſe written by direction of the board; one from Mr. Secretary *Baber* to the writer; one, ſigned by the Preſident and Council, to Captain *Robert Coxe*, the military officer who commanded the party deſtined to ſeize the writer; one to Captain *Charles Purvis*, and one to the marine officers who had charge of the Company's pilot-ſloops: copies of all which are inſerted in the ‡ Appendix, together with the very curious arguments, and ſentiments expreſſed on theſe tranſactions by Preſident *Vereſt*, his Select Committee and Council, in their letters by the *Valentine* to the Court of *Eaſt India* Directors.

In the morning of the 23d *September* Captain *Coxe* came to the writer's houſe, with a party of twenty-ſeven armed ſoldiers; ſome of whom were placed with their fixed bayonets on the ſtair-caſe and round the houſe, while others were kept in the ſtreet, at a ſmall diſtance. Having produced his authority, he declared, that if the writer did not voluntarily repair on board the *Valentine*, then ready

* Appendix F. Num. XL. page 529.

† Ibid. Num. XLI. page 531.

‡ See Secretary *Baber*'s order to the writer, Ibid. Num. XLII. page 532. Ditto, the board's order to Captain *Robert Coxe*, ibid. Num. XLIII. page 533. Ditto, to Captain *Charles Purvis*, ibid. Num. XLIV. page 534. Ditto, Secretary *Baber's* order to the pilots, ibid. Ditto, extract of a letter from the Preſident and Select Committee to the *Eaſt India* Directors, by the *Valentine*. Dated the 13th *September* 1768, ibid. Num. XXXVII. page 525. Ditto, extract from the poſtſcript of a letter from the Preſident and Council to the *Eaſt India* Directors. Dated the 21ſt *September* 1768, ibid. Num. XLVI. page 535; with an extract from an additional letter, by the ſame ſhip *Valentine*. Dated the 24th *September* 1768, ibid. Num. XLVII. page 536.

for

for ſea, he ſhould compel him by force, agreeably to his orders. The writer, who refuſed to go, prevailed on the Captain to allow him about two hours to put his own and his wife's cloaths, together with ſome of his books and papers, into cheſts, to be taken with them. After this he was permitted to ſtay a little longer, in order to ſign ſuch powers of attorney and inſtructions as appeared immediately neceſſary to ſecure as much as poſſible of the ſcattered property of himſelf and his employers; all which was done in the moſt imperfect and confuſed manner, while his houſe was filled with aſtoniſhed ſpectators. The Captain of the party ſoon growing * impatient for his priſoner's departure, at length forced him from his inward apartments, and marched him through the ſtreets ſurrounded by ſoldiers; *leaving the doors of his houſe open, and his papers and effects at the mercy of the populace.* He was followed by his wife, whoſe infirm mother had only a momentary glance of her as ſhe was paſſing along; and, by a ſpeedy death, became one of the firſt victims to ſuch illegal and inhuman violence. In this ſituation, he was eſcorted on board of one of the Company's ſchooners, then laying at anchor off the town of *Calcutta*, and conducted down the river to *Ingellee*.

In the afternoon of the 30th of *September* 1768, he was carried, by his military guard, along-ſide the *Valentine*, in order to be forced aboard; whereof he apprized Captain *Purvis*, by † letter, and requeſted he would reſiſt by force the violence intended, in order to free him from ſuch illegal bondage, and thereby ſave him from ruin. But no interpoſition reſulting from that letter, he was forced up the ſide of the ſhip; Captain *Coxe* at the ſame time declaring, that he delivered him to Captain *Purvis* as a priſoner, and he, in reply, proteſting he did not receive him as ſuch. On obſerving this farce, the writer demanded one of the boats that then lay along-ſide, in order to go aſhore; but Captain *Purvis* refuſed the ſhip's boat, ſaying it was *againſt poſitive orders*; and Captain *Coxe* ſwore, by G—D, he ſhould not go in any of the others. In this ſituation was he carried a priſoner out to ſea; and on the 3d of *October* 1768, the pilot, when leaving the ſhip, not only made the ſame excuſe as Captain *Purvis* had before done, for not taking the priſoner from the ſhip, but moreover declared, that he had received expreſs orders not even to carry a letter from him aſhore.

* It is repreſented, in Mr. *Verelſt*'s book, that the Captain was afraid the writer intended to procure himſelf to be arreſted for debt. See his Appendix, Num. 129. page 211.

† Appendix F. Num. XLVIII. page 536.

Thus

Thus was a deſtined victim to the unreſtrained avarice and tyranny of a ſet of men whoſe actions have been perhaps without parallel on human records, in the baſeſt manner, ſecretly calumniated; falſely accuſed; deprived of the protection of the laws of this kingdom; and ſentenced to baniſhment, without being confronted with an accuſer.——But as if thoſe injuries which depreciated him in the eyes of his late conſtituents, and blaſted all his proſpects in life, were not ſufficient to ſatiate their unbounded luſt of deſpotiſm and rapine, after being half ruined in his fortune by the ſudden impriſonment of his mercantile agents, he was, without a crime, and without a hearing, firſt ſtripped of an office which he held for life, under his Majeſty's royal charter and the ſanction of parliament; then ſuddenly ſeized by a military force; torn from his family and effects; conducted to cloſe confinement; and, finally, like a felon, tranſported from one ſide of the globe to the other.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

PROCEEDINGS of the COMPANY'S RULING SERVANTS in BENGAL, and of their DIRECTORS in ENGLAND, relative to the WRITER; from the forcible SEIZURE and TRANSPORTATION of his Perſon to ENGLAND in *September* 1768, until his final Ruin.

NO ſooner was the writer conveyed from *Bengal*, than Preſident *Vereſt* directed his batteries of perſecution againſt the ſolicitor, or attorney, who had the misfortune to act for him in the Mayor's Court; particularly in the charge of his ſuits againſt Mr. *Baber* and Mr. *Boughton*.

Being met, on the 11th *October* 1768, the Mayor's Court, without any motion made by any of the parties, of their own accord, complaiſantly ordered a full Court to be ſummoned, to conſider, whether the bills of complaint, filed in thoſe cauſes, ſhould be anſwered, pleaded to, demurred to, or diſmiſſed; although they had been regularly admitted and filed on the 23d *Auguſt* 1768. By management between the members of the Court and the Regiſter, they were accordingly diſmiſſed in the moſt extraordinary manner, under the pretence of orders from the writer, as may be ſeen by the copies of the Court-proceedings of the * 11th and 14th *October* 1768: and when the copies of the bills were required, at a ſubſequent period, they were not to be † found in the repoſitories of the Court.

Application had been previouſly made to the Court, by Preſident *Vereſt*, againſt the attorney, in a letter which was afterwards *poſtdated* the 8th *November* 1768, to which we refer ‡ in preference to any comment, as an application, *by private letter, to a Court of Juſtice*, is the trueſt repreſentation that can be given of the political talents of Mr. *Vereſt* for preſiding over a great commercial community.

In the letter referred to, the Preſident complained of the attorney, for filing the writer's bills againſt *Baber* and *Boughton*; alleg-

* Appendix I. Num. I. and Num. II. pages 613 and 614.
† Ibid. Num. III.
‡ Ibid. G. Num. I. page 561.

ing, "they were infamous and ſcandalous libels, filed with a view "to aſperſe, defame, and injure his character:" and he even recommended to the Court the puniſhment of the offending attorney, in order "*to prevent others in future from attempts to defame and vi-* "*lify what is eſteemed moſt ſacred, their neighbour's good name and* "*reputation.*"

The Preſident's complaint was equally groundleſs and irregular. There was nothing in the bills that concerned his character, however it might have been affected by the event of the ſuits, unleſs the barely mentioning of his * *Honour*'s name was to be guilty of vilifying defamation. But had it been otherwiſe, it is an eſtabliſhed principle, that whatever is ſet forth, in a mere application for remedy, to a proper and competent juriſdiction, cannot be impeached as libellous, whether falſe or true. Falſe allegations are made at the riſque of the party; but no attorney is anſwerable for the truth of a declaration, or bill, which he is entruſted by his client to file. He is compellable by law to file it; and if it appear afterwards to be groundleſs, or ſcandalous, the Court to which it is addreſſed may puniſh the party, not the attorney, by diſmiſſing it with coſts.

The attorney firſt gave an honeſt and ſpirited anſwer to Preſident *Verelſt*'s complaint, under date the 10th † *February* 1769; but, from the very extraordinary perſecutions which he ‡ underwent, he ſoon found himſelf on the brink of ruin. The intimidated attorney, therefore, ſuffering himſelf to be cajoled with fair promiſes, on the part of Mr. *Verelſt*, withdrew the former, and, on the 31ſt *March* 1769, gave in another anſwer, which, though but a private letter, was ordered by the Court to be recorded on their proceedings; and was formally tranſmitted by the Preſident and Council to the Court of Directors, as a § teſtimonial, in ſupport of the Preſident's "good name and reputation," under the hand of the writer's ſolicitor; who, in return, was at laſt ruined ‖ for what he had done.

The tranſactions here alluded to, afford ſuch a picture of the ſtate of juſtice in *Bengal*, at that period, as would ſcarcely be credited, if the facts were not vouched in our Appendix by incontrovertible

* The Company's Governors in *India* were addreſſed under this title.
† Appendix G. Num II. page 563.
‡ Ibid. Num. III. and Num. IV. pages 568 and 569.
§ Ibid. Num. V. page 571.
‖ Ibid. Num. VI. and Num. VII. pages 574 and 575.

authorities. Had we not the evidence before us, it would alſo be equally difficult to believe, that Meſſrs. *Carter*, *Smith*, *Becher*, *Ruſſell*, and *Hyde*, whether as gentlemen or as lawyers, but much leſs as judges in a ſupreme Court of Juſtice, could have ſuffered to be tranſmitted to *England*, for the peruſal of his moſt Sacred Majeſty in Council, a paper called a *Plea and Anſwer*, to the writer's appeal againſt themſelves, in which they * aſſerted, upon his mode of executing the covenants by deputy, *that he had been guilty* of FELONY *without benefit of clergy*, and that they had, THEREUPON, *removed him from his ſeat as Alderman*.

Nor was their candour leſs conſpicuous than their ſenſe, or honeſty, on this occaſion. They pretended to doubt the writer's right of appeal; alleged that it ought to have been lodged and proſecuted againſt Preſident *Vereſt*, the informer; and although they had ſent him away a priſoner before the expiration of the † fourteen days allowed by the charter for appealing, they urged, as an objection, his not having perſonally ſigned the appeal, and lodged it within the fourteen days. But paſſion having confounded their reaſon, they had made themſelves idiots in the mad purſuit of revenge.

By a fatality attending the writer, he was equally unfortunate under the judgment of the Court of *Eaſt India* Directors, whoſe minds appeared to have been prejudiced againſt him by the various accuſations, minutes, and proceedings, which had been ſecretly penned to his prejudice, and tranſmitted to them; for without examination into a ſingle fact, they readily coincided with the Preſident and Council of *Calcutta* in all points againſt him; as may be particularly ſeen by the 80th paragraph of the Court's general letter to *Bengal* of the 11th *November* 1768, which was as follows:

"Mr. *Bolts* has been a very unprofitable and unworthy ſervant "of the Company's. His conduct has been diſtinguiſhed by a te- "nacious adherence to thoſe pernicious principles relative to the "inland-trade, in which he appears to have been conſpicuouſly "oppreſſive by repeated inſtances of diſobedience to the orders of "his ſuperiors abroad, and above all, the baſeſt ingratitude to the

* See an extract of this extraordinary compoſition in the Appendix F. Num. XLIX. page 539.

† The writer had ſat on the bench as an Alderman on the 13th *September* 1768, and on the 23d he was ſeized, and ſent away by force.

" Company, under whom he had acquired an ample fortune, in
" expoſing *their ſecrets* to M. *Gentil* at *Sujah al Dowlah*'s Court,
" and to his agents at other *Hindoſtan* Courts, which we look
" upon in the light of a high crime and miſdemeanour. Under
" theſe circumſtances, *you are warranted in purſuing the moſt ſpeedy*
" *and effectual meaſures for freeing the country of ſo dangerous a mem-*
" *ber of ſociety*, and we therefore approve your obliging him to re-
" pair to *Europe* by the firſt opportunity; which if not already done,
" muſt be carried into execution by the firſt ſhip."

The reader who conſiders this paragraph, and the facts already laid before him, will perceive that it contains no grounds for any one of the concluſions drawn. But out of reſpect to the gentlemen who ſigned the * letter, we will refrain from adding to its ridicule, by a comment; only obſerving as to the matters aſſerted, that the writer was not an unprofitable ſervant; that his principles and his practice, relative to the inland-trade, were ſuch as tended greatly to the benefit of the country, and of the Company; that he was never guilty of oppreſſion, by diſobedience to his ſuperiors, or otherwiſe; that he was not ungrateful towards the Company, and that he had never been entruſted with, or expoſed their ſecrets; nor ever kept an agent at any of the Courts alluded to.

The reader will alſo perceive from its date, that this authority from the Court of Directors, to their Preſident and Council, to do as they pleaſed with the writer, could not have been received in *Bengal* when they ſeized and ſent him away a priſoner. However, it was of ſuch a nature as, together with their party-intrigues, induced that Court to abide by what their ſervants had done, and to purſue the blow, however much againſt the intereſts of the proprietors, or in violation of law and juſtice.

It had been obſerved ſince the tyrannies began to multiply in *Bengal*, that of the many perſons who had been injured, beyond example in the *Britiſh* hiſtory, not one had obtained any redreſs; nor had any puniſhment or cenſure been inflicted on the perpetra-

* *Hen. Crabb Boulton*,
Sir *George Colebrooke*,
John Harriſon,
Frederick Pigou,
Robert Jones,
John Purling,
Peregrine Cuſt,
Daniel Wier,
Luke Scraſton,
George Wombwell,
John Woodhouſe,
William Snell,
Benjamin Booth,
Sir *James Cockburn*,
Charles Chambers,
John Stephenſon,
John Pardoe,
William James,
E. Holden Cruttenden,
Edward Wheler, and
Peter du Cane, jun. Eſquires.

tors

tors of the moſt horrid crimes. After the writer's arrival in *England*, in *April* 1769, he eagerly inquired into the cauſe of this ſeeming paradox. Some informed him that the Company's affairs had been governed for ſeveral years paſt by an illiberal and deſperate faction, ſtrangers to every principle of a juſt government; and whoſe only rule of right had been to ſupport their own friends at all events, and to depreſs their rivals, or ſuppoſed enemies, by every means, legal or illegal, without inquiring further into any complaint. Others informed him, that the whole of this irregularity had proceeded from gentlemen claiming redreſs from tumultuous general Courts, without making proper applications to the Court of Directors, to whom, in the opinion of the moſt diſcreet members of the Company, the conſideration of ſuch matters did properly belong.

In conformity to this laſt-mentioned opinion, and agreeably to his own ſentiments, which pointed out every kind of deference to men in authority that did not ſuperſede the equal and manly ſpirit with which an ingenuous mind is always prepared to reſiſt oppreſſion, on the 19th *May* 1769, the writer preſented a reſpectful petition to the Court of *Eaſt India* Directors. He therein ſet forth the principal acts of oppreſſion he had ſuffered in *Bengal*, which have already been related at large in theſe ſheets; and from which the property belonging to himſelf and his conſtituents, to an immenſe amount, had been unavoidably left at the mercy of the natives, in different parts of *India*; moſt of which, from the oppreſſions he had ſuffered, he preſumed would never be recovered, without the immediate interpoſition of the Court. He concluded his petition by repreſenting, that he then appeared before the Court claiming ſuch relief as they might think his caſe required; being deſirous and ready to anſwer for any part of his conduct that might appear to require juſtification: and in particular, humbly requeſting to be informed, whether the proceedings of their Governor and Council in *Bengal* towards him were vindicated or condemned by the honourable Court.

From the Court of Directors, this petition was referred to the Committees of Correſpondence and Law-ſuits, where the writer attended, by their order, in hopes of being permitted to prove the ſeveral allegations therein contained. Inſtead of this, he was called in to the aſſembly, and informed, that the Committees could come to no deciſion upon his petition until they had received the opinion of all the Counſel who had been retained for the Company. After which, among other

other things, a part of the paragraph already cited of the 11th *November* 1768, againſt the writer, was read to him, as if by way of inſult, or in deriſion of his application; and when he requeſted a copy of it, he was informed, that could not be granted without an order from the whole Court.

The joint Committees, at the ſame time, expreſſed a readineſs to ſend out ſuch orders to *Bengal* as might tend to ſecure the wreck of the writer's fortune, and the property of other perſons under his management; forgetting, as it appeared, that he complained to them as a public magiſtrate, in whom the rights of the community had been violated, and the principles of the charter deſtroyed; and that no particular injury in point of fortune could bear any proportion to thoſe conſiderations, in the balance of a liberal mind.

In conſequence, however, of what paſſed with thoſe Committees, in a letter to the Court of Directors * of the 26th *May* 1769, the writer ſpecified the nature of the outſtanding concerns in *India* on which he required their aſſiſtance, and alſo formally requeſted, that the Court would be pleaſed to furniſh him with copies of all ſuch minutes and letters, received from their ſervants in *Bengal*, as ſtated any particular charge againſt him; which he the more hoped to obtain, as when Mr. *Vanſittart* was accuſed by a former Court of Directors, the General Court of Proprietors ordered that he ſhould have copies of all ſuch letters as reflected on his conduct. The writer, therefore, conſidered the compliance with his requeſt to be no other than an act of juſtice due to him from a public body, whom he had long and faithfully ſerved, and who ought not to appear as parties againſt him; ſeeing that from the evidence on their table, the Directors well knew the falſity of the charges that had been brought againſt him, by his enemies, merely on their own bare aſſertions, and which he had ever ſhewn himſelf ready to diſprove.

The † anſwer of the Court of Directors to the writer's letter will ſufficiently point out where the backwardneſs lay; and the candid reader will judge how far the practice of ſupporting ſecret accuſations, without permitting the accuſed to ſee them, and *even cenſuring the party upon ſuch inquiſitorial proof, without hearing his defence*, is agreeable to the rules of juſtice as underſtood in this country. But although the Court would not permit him to be acquainted

* Appendix H. Num. I. page 577.
† Ibid. Num. II. page 578.

with

with what he was accuſed of, they were pleaſed in their * letter by the *Lapwing*, to ſend a general order to their Preſident and Council in *Bengal*, for giving effectual aſſiſtance to his attornies in facilitating the recovery of his outſtanding concerns, and thoſe of his conſtituents.

In the mean while, the Court of Directors had ordered a ſtate of the writer's caſe to be drawn up by their ſolicitor, and laid before Counſel. As no man can expect a juſt opinion on any caſe unleſs it be fairly and fully ſtated, the writer propoſed to the Company's ſolicitor to have one drawn up to which all parties might ſubſcribe, as the moſt candid and equitable method of proceeding in an affair of ſuch conſequence. This propoſal which, if admitted, might have ſaved the Company and the writer much trouble, vexation, and expence, was however rejected, and a caſe produced in which the mere ſuggeſtions of his enemies were given as proofs, and almoſt every fact was wholly miſrepreſented. In this caſe, alſo, the moſt material circumſtances in the writer's favour were induſtriouſly ſuppreſſed; but particularly his repeated repreſentations of the ſtate of his important mercantile concerns, and of the time requiſite for their effectual liquidation; and alſo the proceedings of the Preſident and Council in *September* 1768, reſpecting the bond of indemnity which they had given Captain *Purvis*, for bringing him forcibly a priſoner to *England*.

But notwithſtanding all the diſadvantages of a caſe ſo partially drawn againſt the writer, the preſent Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, then *William de Grey*, Eſq; the late Right Honourable *Charles Yorke*, appointed Lord Chancellor of *England*, and *Charles Sayer*, Eſq; the Company's preſent Standing Counſel, to whom it was ſubmitted, were all of opinion, that the proceedings againſt him "had not been *ſufficiently regular and cautious*, and that "in caſe his removal from his corporate-office, as Alderman, "ſhould be held illegal, it was probable he would recover conſi-"derable damages, as a perſon ſeized and ſent home without war-"rant from the ſtatute, and contrary to law;" as may be more fully ſeen in the opinions of thoſe learned † gentlemen at large.

The writer was not then in poſſeſſion of proofs relative to the moſt criminal parts of the conduct of the Preſident and Council at *Calcutta* towards him; but he nevertheleſs drew up a ſhort caſe,

* Appendix F. page 542.
† Ibid. I. Num. VIII. page 622.

containing

containing the principal facts which were at that time within his knowledge, and laid it before learned Counſel, whoſe * opinions thereon are likewiſe inſerted in the Appendix, together with their anſwers to various † queries ſubmitted to their judgment, on a further general caſe.

Many applications were at different times made by the writer, for juſtice, to the Court of Directors, as inſerted at length in the Appendix under the letter H. but they all proved ineffectual; while every letter he received from *India* brought freſh accounts of the loſſes which he ſuſtained in property, in conſequence of his ſudden removal, by force, from *Bengal*. The natives, in various parts of the interior country, refuſed to come to any account with the writer's attornies: while ſeveral of them acted as if they thought, that to withhold his property would be a means to obtain favour with the Preſident and Council. Many demands in the common courſe of buſineſs, which would have been liquidated in *India*, were ſent over againſt the writer to *England*, where they could be ſubſtantiated with a heavy intereſt againſt him; while his only reſource was in *India*, where he could obtain no remedy. In the *Britiſh* ſettlements within the juriſdiction of his Majeſty's charter, the Preſident and Council, and therefore their dependent Judges in the Mayor's Court, were hoſtile towards him: and out of the juriſdiction of the charter, the laws of the country were every where ſubverted, through nominal Nabobs, acting under the immediate direction of the Preſident and Select Committee of *Calcutta*.

From ſuch cauſes, ſeeing himſelf deprived of the greateſt part of his fortune, threatened with a priſon, and menaced with ruinous and expenſive law-ſuits, the writer firſt applied to the ‡ Court of Directors, as having become the natural guardians and truſtees of that property which he had been compelled to abandon within their aſſumed government in *India*; requeſting them to aſſiſt him with as much money as would ſatisfy preſent demands, to be repaid out of ſuch of his effects as ſhould come to the hands of their ſervants there. The Directors § anſwered, that they did not think themſelves authoriſed to comply with his requeſt: ſo that he was forced to throw

* See the opinion of *John Glynn*, Eſq; Appendix I. Num. IV. page 616.
of *John Dunning*, Eſq; ibid. Num. V. page 617.
of *Alexander Wedderburn*, Eſq; ibid. Num. VI.

† Appendix I. Num. VII. page 619.

‡ Ibid. H. Num. X. page 585.

§ Ibid. Num. XI. page 586.

himſelf

himſelf on the mercy of his creditors, who, upon looking into the ſtate of his affairs in *February* 1770, found it neceſſary to back the former application, in * another requeſt, that the Court would pleaſe to ſend orders to the Commiſſioners then appointed over all *India*, as well as to their Preſidents and Councils, to give every neceſſary and proper aſſiſtance to the writer's agents, for the ſecuring, collecting, and remitting to *England* of his outſtanding concerns: in conſequence of which application the Directors were pleaſed to write another ſhort † paragraph in their general letter to *Bengal*.

As ſoon as advices could be received from the writer's agents in *Bengal*, of their ſucceſs in the realization of his outſtanding effects, he was informed that the firſt orders ſent by the Directors to their ſervants, by the *Lapwing*, for giving them aſſiſtance in recovering and ſecuring his property, had proved ineffectual; and that as the Preſident and Council of *Calcutta*, on the moſt groundleſs pretences, had declined complying with the Directors orders, they had been under the neceſſity of formally proteſting againſt them. But as a detail of the altercations which paſſed on this ſubject, between the ſervants of the Company and the attornies of the writer in *Bengal*, would be too burthenſome for this narration, the reader is referred to the ‡ proteſt in the Appendix, in which are contained all the letters that were written upon this occaſion.

The Court of Directors having been furniſhed with the opinions of their learned Counſel on the writer's caſe, as already mentioned, tranſmitted the ſubſtance of them, with their own ſentiments thereon at large, in their general letter of the 23d *March* 1770, to their Preſident and Council in *Bengal*. By this || letter the Directors appeared perfectly ſenſible, that the whole conduct of their Preſident, Select Committee, and Council, had been intirely illegal, not only with reſpect to the writer, but likewiſe towards thoſe *Armenian* merchants who had acted as his agents; two of whom, in the month of *Auguſt* 1769, had arrived in *England*, in queſt of juſtice.

Soon afterwards, the writer's appeal againſt the judgment of removal from his ſeat, as a Judge in the Mayor's Court, pronounced by the Preſident and board at *Calcutta*, was brought to a hearing

* See a letter from the writer's creditors, dated the 14th *February* 1770, Appendix H. Num. XII. page 587.

† See the XCVIth paragraph of their letter of the 23d *March* 1770, Ibid. page 557.

‡ See Appendix F. Num. LII. page 541.

|| Ibid. Num. LIII. pages 553 to 558.

before his Majeſty in Council, when the Court of Directors being aſhamed to appear in the affair, on behalf of their ſervants, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to reverſe the judgment paſſed by the Preſidency of *Bengal*, and to reſtore the appellant to his office. For the arguments uſed on this extraordinary occaſion by the able Counſel employed on behalf of the appellant, and his Majeſty's royal award of reſtoration, dated at *St. James's*, the 15th *June* 1770, we beg leave to refer the reader to the * Appendix.

The Court of Directors knowing the diſtreſſed ſituation of the writer, and that without the aſſiſtance which he had applied for in his letter of the 6th *February* 1770, and which they had refuſed, he could not proceed to *Bengal*; informed him, by a letter of the 28th † *June* 1770, that they expected he would repair to *Calcutta* in one of their ſhips of the enſuing ſeaſon, in order to reſume the functions of his office. Repeating his repreſentations of diſtreſs, the writer thereon ‡ requeſted the Court would acquieſce in his remaining in *England* for two years from the date of his Majeſty's ſentence; which they informed ‖ him was not in their power, as it was expreſſed in the charter of juſtice, that if any Alderman ſhould be abſent from the town of *Calcutta* for twelve calendar months, his office became vacant. Hereupon the writer preſented an humble § petition to the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty in Council, under date the 21ſt *July* 1770, praying, that in conſideration of the circumſtances of his very hard caſe, therein ſet forth, his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to interpoſe by his royal prerogative, and grant the petitioner leave to remain in *England* for the ſpace of two years from the date of his Majeſty's judgment of reverſal aforeſaid; and that the perſon who ſerved in his office might be permitted to continue ſo to do, until the petitioner could arrive in *Calcutta* to reſume the functions thereof: which petition was referred, by the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Council, for the conſideration and report of Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor General.

In a letter of the ¶ 9th *Auguſt* 1770, the writer acquainted the Court of Directors of the ineffectuality of all the applications for aſ-

* Appendix I. Num. IX. and Num. X. pages 625 and 626. See alſo the proceedings of the Mayor's Court of *Calcutta*, the 22d *March* and 3d *April* 1771, in conſequence of this judgment, Ibid. Num. XII. page 630.

† Ibid. Letter H. Num. XIII. page 587.

‡ Ibid. Num. XIV. page 588.

‖ Ibid. Num. XV. page 589.

§ Ibid. Letter I. Num. XI. page 627.

¶ Ibid. Letter H. Num. XVI. page 589.

ſiſtance which had been made to the Preſident and Council, by his attornies in *Bengal*, in conſequence of the Court's orders by the *Lapwing*. He therein alſo informed the Court of the great loſſes he was likely to ſuſtain by ſuch diſobedience; offered to give them every ſatisfaction that could be required concerning the propriety and legality of his commercial engagements; and requeſted ſuch farther o ders to their Superviſors and Preſidents and Councils, as might, without a poſſibility of evaſion, effectually ſecure the recovery of his juſt debts outſtanding: the Directors reſerving to themſelves the determination of any diſputes on the points of legality.

But the Court of Directors were as regardleſs of this repreſentation of the writer's wrongs as they before had been of the many others which he had preſented to them. All-powerful as they thought themſelves, they paid no attention to his prayers for juſtice, nor ever offered the moſt trifling reparation for the numberleſs injuries which he had ſuffered. They poſſeſſed the judicious opinions of their own eminent Lawyers, to which they themſelves had alſo ſubſcribed, that the proceedings of their governing-ſervants in *Bengal* againſt the writer were illegal; which illegality was put farther beyond a doubt by the decree of his Majeſty in Council. But they knew that whatever might be the event, the *never-failing* treaſury of the Company would ſecure them from all loſſes in their official capacities. They well foreſaw, that the inveſtigation before the public, or in courts of juſtice, of matters of ſuch magnitude as were involved in the writer's caſe, could not fail of injuring, if not ruining, the Company;—but the carrying of a few favourite points in a party, and the ſecuring of their annual elections, were objects to be conſidered far in preference to the intereſts of the Proprietors; who appeared to have been long reconciled to be the dupes of *Eaſt India* politics.

The Court of Directors, therefore, would never candidly declare whether they vindicated or condemned the conduct of their ſervants towards the writer; who, after being kept, in the moſt humiliating manner, under hopes of redreſs, for ſeventeen months, was at laſt forced to * commence proſecutions at law; not merely to obtain damages for illegal ſufferings, but in fact to regain poſſeſſion of a fortune lawfully acquired by his own induſtry, from which he had been firſt forcibly torn, and then illegally withheld: while Preſident *Verelſt*, in the election of *April* 1771, was rewarded, for his *great* and *meritorious* ſervices, with a ſeat in the Direction.

* The writer commenced his proſecutions againſt the Company and their ſervants in *September* 1770.

In conſequence of the ſecond order given by the Court of Directors, the writer's attornies in *Bengal* renewed their * applications to the Preſident and Council for their aſſiſtance in ſecuring his property and concerns outſtanding; but thoſe applications, like the former, were without effect. The board perſiſted in their † refuſal of aſſiſtance, under the ſame pretences as before, which reduced the writer's attornies to the neceſſity of ſerving them with another proteſt under date the 13th *December* 1770, while the recovery of a great part of his property was thereby rendered totally deſperate.

His Majeſty's Attorney and Solicitor General, on the 16th *May* 1771, having ‡ reported upon the writer's petition of the 21ſt *July* 1770, that they were humbly of opinion, his Majeſty could not *legally* comply with the petitioner's requeſt for leave of abſence from his office in the Mayor's Court of *Calcutta*; the writer determined on returning to *Bengal*, and accordingly ‖ applied to the Court of Directors for a paſſage in one of the Company's ſhips.

The Directors, who knew perfectly well that no other than merchants ever had or could have filled the offices of Mayor and Aldermen at *Calcutta*, and that the whole of the emoluments received by an Alderman did not exceed twenty-five pounds ſterling *per annum*, agreed to give directions for his paſſage to *India* on board the ſhip *Britannia*; but at the ſame time informed him, that although he returned to reſume the functions of his office, *he would not be* § *allowed to trade there*, "as, in the opinions of the ableſt Lawyers, ſuch office "carried with it no authority whatſoever to trade, but, on the con-"trary, was expreſsly repugnant to ſeveral acts of Parliament *for* "*confirming to the* Eaſt India *Company their excluſive right to trade.*"

This was a new doctrine, which had never been ſtarted before; nor at this time would have been thought of, if it had not been ſolely for the purpoſe of diſtreſſing an injured man, made obnoxious by the guilt of others: for the Directors argued, acutely, that he could not reſide in *India*, if they debarred him from the means of ſupporting himſelf. They likewiſe, without doubt, thought this was the beſt method of defeating the juſtice of their Sovereign in Council, by rendering his ſolemn decree from the throne ineffectual and impotent; as a reſtoration to office could not but prove fruitleſs,

* See Appendix F. Num. LIV. page 558.
† Ibid. Num. LV. page 559.
‡ Ibid. Letter I. Num. XIII. page 632.
‖ Ibid. H. Num. XIX. page 592.
§ Ibid. Num. XX. page 593.

if

if the means of ſubſiſting in it were taken away. In his * anſwer to the letter from the Directors, the writer therefore expoſtulated with them freely upon the injuſtice of their conduct towards him; and requeſted to be informed, if they pleaſed to allow him any, and what ſum for his paſſage and expences to *Bengal*: but he was never favoured with an anſwer.

In the mean time, the preparations he was making for his voyage to *Bengal* alarmed his creditors, who refuſed to let him depart without firſt ſatisfying them for their reſpective demands on him. Several ſuits and actions were in conſequence commenced againſt him: and while he was under an arreſt in cuſtody of the Sheriff's officers, he again applied, by † letter, to the Court of Directors, requeſting they would pleaſe to procure bail to the writ upon which he was confined, and alſo for ſuch other ſums as might appear againſt him. As he had been expoſed to theſe hardſhips in conſequence of the outrages practiſed on him in *India*, by the ſervants of the Company, ſupported by the ſubſequent orders and proceedings of the Court of Directors, he thought he had a reaſonable claim upon them to comply with this requeſt, and more eſpecially as the Company, in their character of Nabob of *Bengal*, were already become poſſeſſed of a conſiderable part of his property. But no application from him could induce the Court of Directors to give him any ſatisfaction, as the reader will perceive from the many other letters which paſſed on different occaſions: copies of all which are inſerted in the Appendix under the letter H.

On the contrary, although conſcious that the writer had been illegally removed from his office of Alderman; that he had been brought away by force from *Calcutta*; and that he was, in effect, under a phyſical impoſſibility of returning, the Court of Directors informed him, by ‡ letter of the 31ſt *Auguſt* 1771, that, as his ſaid office was become vacant *by his abſence*, they had tranſmitted orders to their Governor and Council in *Bengal* forthwith to proceed to fill up the vacancy in his place and ſtead. It was ſcarce poſſible for an injured and inſulted man to bear ſuch repeated acts of injuſtice with more temper than the writer did; but he could not wholly reſtrain his indignation on this occaſion. The anſwer which he wrote to this letter from the Directors having given great offence, that the reader may judge of his demerits in this matter, without the trouble of a reference, we here ſubmit the whole letter to his peruſal.

* See Appendix H. Num. XXI. page 594.
† Ibid. Num. XXII. page 596.
‡ Ibid. Num. XXVII. page 600.

"To

" To *Peter Michell*, Eſq; Secretary to the Honourable the Court of
" Directors for Affairs of the Honourable the United Company
" of Merchants of *England* trading to the *Eaſt Indies*.

" SIR,

" I have received your letter, dated the 31ſt *Auguſt*, written by " order of the Court of Directors of the *Eaſt India* Company, ac- " quainting me that they had, on that day, tranſmitted to *Bengal* " their orders to their Governor and Council forthwith to proceed " to the choice of another Alderman of the Mayor's Court, in my " place; which ſtation the Court of Directors, upon the opinion of " eminent Counſel, preſume to be vacant.

" By this action the Public will undoubtedly perceive the great " obligation they owe to the Court of Directors, for the official at- " tention they give to the complete adminiſtration of juſtice in their " ſettlements abroad, where they will not allow of one vacancy un- " der a phyſical impoſſibility, while there are two at their own " * board, of which they take no notice.

" They will likewiſe ſee the dignity of the Court, in acquainting " me with their reſolution after the packet which carried it had been " diſpatched; nor can they have any doubt of the propriety of their " conduct, when fortified by the opinion of ſuch eminent Counſel, " who are above any mean ſubterfuge, and whom all the money " which has been plundered from the *Eaſt India* Company and the " miſerable inhabitants of *Hindoſtan*, and all the boroughs which " have been bought thereby, would not tempt to utter a ſyllable " contrary to law and juſtice.

" This will further remove the general reproaches that are daily " uttered againſt the Court of Directors, and particularly this, that " the whole of their conduct, for ſeven years back, has been one " uniform ſyſtem of oppreſſing the innocent by every ignoble exer- " tion of authority, and protecting the guilty by every artifice of " power. And therefore, ſeeing they are daily proceeding in ſuch " a meritorious ſyſtem of reformation as might almoſt ſave the Com- " pany, if it were on the brink of bankruptcy, it is to be hoped that " no daring ſpirit will preſume to call the legality of any act, under " their preſent ſituation, in queſtion, merely becauſe they conſiſt

* There were two ſeats in the Direction then vacant by the deaths of Mr. *Gruttenden* and Mr. *Rous*.

" of

" of only twenty-two members, when that number can be proved, " by eminent Counſel, to be ſuperior to twenty-four; much leſs " to diſpute the very principle of what they may perform from ſuch " fair and upright intentions.

" Nevertheleſs, under all thoſe prejudices on behalf of ſo wiſe, ſo " honourable, and ſo impartial a board, I am aſſured, by perſons who " pretend to be equally eminent in the Law, that the Court of Di- " rectors and their Counſel will have as little to ſay in favour of this " proceeding, when it comes to be diſcuſſed, as the eloquent Mr. " *Sayer*, and the ingenious Mr. *Nuthall*, after all the money they " had received, had to offer in favour of their former Governor, and " preſent aſſociate, Mr. *Verelſt*, for removing me from my judicial " office at firſt.

" I freely acknowledge, that *William Bolts*, perſecuted, impri- " ſoned, baniſhed, tranſported, and plundered, in the decay of the " *Engliſh* conſtitution, is a very unequal match for the Directors of " the *Eaſt India* Company, ſtimulated by an army of Nabobs, rob- " bers, and tyrants, whoſe riches are capable of even ſhaking the " Senate, and much more of calling forth the cunning contrivance " of a venal profeſſion. At the ſame time I am ſtill hardy enough " to believe I ſhall obtain the victory at laſt, notwithſtanding the " dreams and ſpells of * *Iſmeno*; from this old proverb, which I " learned in my youth, " that truth and innocence, with proper " fortitude, will in the end prevail againſt a hoſt of foes."

I am, SIR,

Inglefield Green, Your moſt obedient ſervant,
the 7th September 1771. (Signed) WILLIAM BOLTS."

About this time a moſt vexatious proſecution was alſo commenced againſt the writer, by an information filed againſt him in the Exchequer, by his Majeſty's Attorney General, at the relation of the *Eaſt India* Company.

To give the candid reader a clear idea of the origin of the tranſaction on which this proſecution was grounded, it may be neceſſary to inform him, that after aſſuming the ſovereignty of *Bengal*, diſguiſed by the office of Dewannee, pretended to be held of *Shah Allum*, the Grand Mogul, under their tool of a Mock-Nabob, in 1765, the Preſident and Secret Committee of *Calcutta* had ſo raiſed the expectations of the *Eaſt India* Directors, that they ſoon began to entertain the moſt ex-

* Alluding to a character in *Taſſo's Jeruſalem.*

travagant

travagant ideas of ceaſeleſs floods of wealth ſtreaming into the Company's treaſury from the *inexhauſtible* ſources of that country. In conſequence of ſuch ideas, the Directors, in *May* 1766, poſitively * prohibited their Preſident and Council from drawing bills on them for any ſums paid by individuals into their caſh at *Calcutta*; and in *January* 1768, they ordered the remittance home of five † hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, in ſpecie. The Company's caſh was the uſual channel whereby perſons dependent on them were permitted to remit their property to *Europe*; and indeed, at the time deſcribed, it was the only method in their power, as diamonds could not be procured in *Bengal*; the Preſident and Council, as hath already been ſhewn, having publicly prohibited, under ſevere penalties, and reſerved to themſelves all intercourſe with the adjacent provinces, in which only they were obtainable to advantage.

When the writer was ſeized, in *September* 1768, almoſt the whole of his fortune, beſides conſiderable property belonging to other perſons then under his care, was in the power of the Company and their ſervants in *India*. Without any means in his power for ſecuring thoſe effects from which he had been thus torn by violence, they were of courſe left in imminent peril from the guilt of his oppreſſors; who could not but foreſee that their own future ſafety muſt greatly depend on his immediate and effectual ruin. In this ſtate of things, ſoon after his forcible expulſion from *Bengal*, a foreigner undertook to collect various effects belonging to the writer, and ſhip them, on freight, in a *Portugueſe* ſhip bound to *Liſbon*; which he accordingly afterwards effected.

This was the tranſaction on which was grounded the information in the Exchequer, requiring an account from the writer of ſuch pretended-unlawful trade, with the forfeiture thereon of thirty *per cent.* to be paid to the Company, Mr. Attorney General waving all other penalties and forfeitures. But this extraordinary proſecution was carried ſtill farther; for, on the new-broached doctrine, of extending their excluſive right of trading TO AND FROM *India*, to the ridiculous claim of right to all trade IN *India*, the honourable Directors, on behalf of the Company, *conſcientiouſly* demanded the whole profits of the writer's induſtry, acquired by trade of any ſort, in *Bengal*, from the day on which he reſigned the Company's commercial ſervice, in *November* 1766, until his final impriſonment and tranſportation: of

* See Appendix A. Num. XVIII. page 122.
† Ibid. Num. XXXIV. page 172.

which

which profits the Attorney General's information alſo demanded an account on oath.

It was not repugnant to the honour or dignity of the Court of *Eaſt India* Directors to fix upon the writer, whom they had already almoſt ruined, as the man on whom to make this new ſpecies of demand; nor to ſelect him for this truly inquiſitorial proſecution, from among a great number of other perſons, reſidents under *Britiſh* protection in *India*, who they knew had been reduced to the ſame neceſſity of remitting their eſtates from thence through other nations, without the arguments in their favour, which the writer poſſeſſed on this tranſaction, as being the act of others, after he had been forcibly torn from his property, and ſent out of the country: nor was it deemed diſhonourable by thoſe gentlemen then in the Direction (1771) who had themſelves been actually guilty of illicit traffic between *India* and *Europe*, without any plea of neceſſity, but merely for the gratification of their love of wealth.

In hopes of quaſhing an expenſive proſecution of ſo frivolous, partial, and vexatious a nature, the writer, whoſe father was a *German*, and himſelf not a natural-born ſubject of his Majeſty, pleaded his alienage in bar to the diſcovery and relief ſought. In the ſituation deſcribed, he did not think it diſhonourable to avail himſelf of any plea which accident had thrown in his way, which the law allowed of, and which many gentlemen of the greateſt eminence for their knowledge in the law of *Great Britain* ſtill think a good one; but particularly with reſpect to the *Eaſt India* Company, whoſe protection, as the reader has ſeen, had been formally withdrawn from him, and whoſe Directors and other ſuperior ſervants had exerted every act of injuſtice and oppreſſion to effect his ruin both in fortune and reputation.

But when this plea was argued before the Honourable Barons of his Majeſty's Court of Exchequer, they were pleaſed to order that it ſhould be over-ruled; and from that judgment the writer appealed to the Right Honourable the Houſe of Lords, before whom it came on to be heard in *May* 1773. It was there alleged by the reſpondents, that "if thoſe who have been in the ſervice of the Company, "being aliens, might lawfully carry *Eaſt India* commodities from "the Company's ſettlements to the ports of foreign kingdoms, it "would *virtually* put an end to the charter of the *Eaſt India* Com-"pany, and all the acts of Parliament made for ſecuring that trade "to *Great Britain*."—But it was not conſidered, if the *Engliſh Eaſt India* Company might lawfully ſeize any ſubject within the *Britiſh*

ſettlements in *India*;—ſend him a priſoner to *England*, whenever they thought it convenient;—put a ſtop to all remittances, through themſelves, of private property from *India*; and at the ſame time by worſe than Star-chamber-informations in his Majeſty's Court of Exchequer, proſecute for, and recover as forfeited to themſelves in the characters of ſubjects and merchants, all property which ſuch perſon might receive from *India* in any other channel, while they acted as deſpotic ſovereigns in that country; that in ſuch caſe the Company would *virtually* become the poſſeſſors of all the property of ſuch ſubject.

Nevertheleſs, ſuch were the conſequences to the writer of what he had already ſuffered, with reſpect to a great part of the property from which he had been torn in *India*, while the Directors for the Company were attempting, by their Exchequer-information, to diſturb his poſſeſſion of ſuch part thereof as his foreign agent had ſecured from their power, and brought to *Lisbon*, for the benefit of his creditors. Under ſuch unconſtitutional privileges and powers as thoſe which the Company are hereby contending for, moſt of the *Britiſh* ſubjects in *India* will ſoon find it for their intereſt, as well as perſonal ſafety, to renounce their country, and give up the name of *Engliſhmen*, to ſeek protection among foreign *Europeans*, or the independent princes in *Aſia*; which may ſoon effect the diſſolution of the *Britiſh* trade and empire in *India*.

It was alſo urged in the writer's behalf, before the Lords, "that "legiance being *reciprocal ligamen*, if protection were withdrawn "from an inhabitant, and he forcibly baniſhed, the duty of legiance "ceaſed;—that therefore the appellant was releaſed from the tem"porary allegiance which he owed to the crown of *Great Britain*, "when deprived of protection, and forcibly brought a priſoner upon "the high ſeas. Farther, that as the act of the 7th of *George* the "Firſt, which enables the reſpondents to recover thirty *per cent.* of "the value in *England* of all goods which are the ſubject of the trade "therein prohibited, was a ſtatute highly penal, it ought to be con"ſtrued ſtrictly;—that in ſuch caſe, being confined to his Majeſty's "*natural-born* ſubjects, it could not be extended ſo as to comprehend "the appellant, who, although an alien, yet being a proteſtant, "and the ſubject of a ſtate at amity with *Great Britain*, was an "Alderman of *Calcutta* agreeably to the charter; and who, in fact, "at the time when his effects were embarked in *India* by a foreign "agent, was not reſident in any part of his Majeſty's dominions, "nor had any connexions with the reſpondents."

But

But it was inſiſted on behalf of the reſpondents, "that the appellant's plea was defective in point of formality."—Mr. Attorney General ſaid, "it did not contain a legal averment *who his parents were*, but only a declaration, *as he believed*, which would not do." And Mr. *Skinner*, likewiſe of counſel for the reſpondents, ſaid, "it was not ſufficient to declare the appellant was born out of the allegiance of his Majeſty, but the place of his birth ſhould have been preciſely mentioned."

It would be difficult to reconcile ſuch language to the underſtanding of a plain and unlettered man, unacquainted with law, and the nice diſtinctions ſubſiſting between the formality of a ſpecial plea and common ſenſe. But theſe *legal* objections to the plea, which was actually ſo *defectively* worded, could not be ſurmounted; and the Right Honourable the Houſe of Lords were pleaſed, without a debate, to confirm the judgment given by the Honourable Barons, whereby the appellant was referred back to the Court of Exchequer, for the deciſion of his cauſe, upon it's merits.

During the courſe of theſe tranſactions in *England*, the ſubterfuges of the Preſident and Council in *Bengal*, not improbably prompted by ſome of the Directors at home, had rendered it neceſſary to the writer's creditors, for the ſecurity of their property, to renew their applications for aſſiſtance in collecting in his effects in *India*, and remitting them to *Europe*. But the Court of Directors now not only excuſed but even commended their Preſident and Council for their diſobedience of their former orders. The grand baſis on which they founded their quibbles was, that the debts outſtanding in *India* had ariſen on an illegal trade; and the various grounds they took to prove this pretended illegality were, that they had been contracted in the ſalt-trade; or in trade carried on by the writer after he had reſigned the Company's ſervice; or without licence; or after repeated prohibitions to the contrary.—In vain had the writer's attornies in *Bengal* undertaken to prove before the Preſident and Council, that his outſtanding debts were not in ſuch predicaments, and in vain did his creditors undertake to prove before the Directors in *London*, that there was no foundation for any of thoſe ſuppoſitions. The Honourable Court of Directors then urged, that a ſuit was depending in his Majeſty's Court of Exchequer, wherein one of the great points for deciſion was, the power aſſumed by the writer, *of trading* after having quitted the Company's ſervice, and after receiving orders from their Preſident and Council to deſiſt from trade. But ſtill taking for granted that he had ſo traded, and that

ſuch trade was illegal, they begged leave to aſk, "whether it would "not be a downright ſoleciſm in practice to proſecute a man for the "recovery of penalties incurred by an unlawful trade, and at the "ſame time to be aiding and aſſiſting to him in the recovery of debts "contracted in ſuch trade?" And they concluded their diſcuſſion of the point, by offering to give poſitive orders to their Preſident and Council at *Calcutta*, that "*their utmoſt efforts ſhould be uſed to ob-* "*tain the recovery of ſuch debts and demands as that Preſidency ſhould* "*not be poſſeſſed of full evidence to ſhew the illegality of.*"

The candid reader may ſee in the * Appendix, at length, all the letters which paſſed on this occaſion. It was to no purpoſe to argue with men armed with unlimited power, and hoſtile towards reaſon and conviction. The writer ſaw himſelf effectually debarred from recovering his property in the interior parts of *Bengal*, where the Directors and their ſervants, acting for a ſociety of merchants, without openly avowing it, had taken upon themſelves the ſovereignty of the country, ſubverted the ancient laws and cuſtoms, and under the cloaks of pretended Nabobs, directed by their Reſident at the *Durbar*, and their Chiefs at Subordinates, trampled without controul on juſtice and the rights of mankind.

We will no longer treſpaſs on the patience of the indulgent reader by a minute detail of the farther circumſtances of this caſe. Suffice it to ſay, that after combating every ſpecies of injuſtice, chicanery, and villainy, both in *India* and in *England*, for upwards of ſeven years, ſingle and unſupported, although intitled to a fortune of upwards of ninety thouſand pounds ſterling, when forced away from *Bengal*, the writer ſaw himſelf frequently arreſted and impriſoned for debt, his houſes ſequeſtred, his effects ſeized and publicly ſold by writs of execution: and under all the horrors of ſuch circumſtances to himſelf and family, he was at laſt, in *October* 1773, reduced to the neceſſity of becoming a bankrupt, without the guilt of any extravagance or miſconduct, but without hope of any kind of juſtice to himſelf. Can he then be thought to owe the leaſt forbearance to his oppreſſors? And has he not juſt cauſe to lament, that there is no coercive power in this kingdom adequate to the puniſhment of the perpetrators of ſuch crimes as are without parallel; and whoſe ſecurity therein has been owing to ſuch *deceptions* and *concealments* as ſhould be deemed no other than CONSTITUTIONAL TREASONS?

* Appendix H. pages 602 to 612.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

AN ACCOUNT of the ARMENIANS in BENGAL, particularly of the OPPRESSIONS ſuffered in the Year 1768, from the SUPERIOR SERVANTS of the EAST INDIA COMPANY, by GREGORE COJAMAUL, JOHANNES PADRE RAFAEL, and others; and of their Succeſs in purſuit of Juſtice.

THE interior regions and maritime coaſts of *Hindoſtan* had afforded ſhelter and emolument to peaceable merchants, from all *Aſia* and oriental *Africa*, for many ages before weſtern intruders diſturbed their repoſe. Defenceleſs againſt the military arts and naval armaments of *Europeans*, the *Indian* coaſts, therefore, opened, upon the firſt adventurers, proſpects equally extenſive for trade or plunder. But although the latter was, for ſome time, in a great meaſure, reſtrained by the eſtabliſhment of thoſe national *Eaſt India* Companies in *Europe*, which, under many viciſſitudes, have ſubſiſted to the preſent times, with their reſpective rights of trading round the *Cape of Good Hope*; yet the ſucceſs of thoſe Companies, in the degrees they have departed from their commercial ſyſtems, ſeems only to have proportionally converted their right of excluſively trading with, to that of excluſively oppreſſing or plundering the natives of *Aſia*.

Among the many nations that partook of the trade in *India*, the *Armenians* were not the leaſt conſpicuous. From the earlieſt period of the hiſtory of that country they were the principal traders from and to the gulphs of *Perſia* and *Arabia*; by which laſt track, in particular, the eaſtern commodities were tranſported to *Egypt*, *Turkey*, and the coaſts of the *Mediterranean* ſea.

The extenſiveneſs of this trade was ſoon found to be obſtructive of the views of the adventurers newly come round the *Cape of Good Hope*. But what the *Portugueſe* attempted by open violence, at the mouths of the two gulphs, the *Engliſh Eaſt India* Company accompliſhed by ſtratagem.

In the year 1688, a treaty or agreement was concluded by the old *Eaſt India* Company with *Cogee Phanoos Calendar*, an *Armenian* merchant of eminency, on behalf of the *Armenian* nation; calcu-

lated to divert their trade from its old channels, into the new one round the *Cape*. To this * treaty the *Armenians* were allured by ſpecious proſpects of great benefits. They were reſpectively to have, then and at all times thereafter, an equal ſhare of all advantages granted by the Company to any of their own adventurers or other *Engliſh* merchants whomſoever, with reſpect to trade, or otherwiſe, within the limits of the Company's charter. Great privileges were likewiſe allowed them for conveying their perſons or merchandize to or from *Europe* in the Company's ſhips. They were, moreover, freely to reſide in all the Company's towns or garriſons; where they were declared to be capable of holding all civil offices and employments, equally with the natives of *England*. They were allowed too, the free exerciſe of their religion; and whenever forty, or more of them, became inhabitants of any of the Company's towns or garriſons, they were to have ground given to them for a church, to be firſt built at the expence of the Company; who further ſtipulated, that they would not continue in their ſervice any Governor who ſhould in any way diſturb or diſcountenance them in the full enjoyment of their trade and privileges.

Of ſuch conſequence were the *Armenians* thought in *India*, and in particular, by the *Engliſh Eaſt India* Company, no longer than eighty-ſix years ago. Under this treaty great numbers reſorted to the Company's ſettlements; where they eſtabliſhed themſelves, traded, and had churches built. Being the beſt merchants in *Aſia*, they principally contributed to the increaſe of trade and population in the reſpective ſettlements where they reſided. They were of the greateſt ſervice to the Company's agents and factors, as well in the diſpoſal of their outward, as in the proviſion of their homeward-bound-cargoes: and it was to an *Armenian* the Company were moſt particularly indebted, in the year 1717, for the acquiſition of the grand Firmauns of the Emperor *Furrukhſeer*, for *Bengal*, *Madraſs*, and *Surat*. This may be clearly ſeen, as well from the Firmauns themſelves, as from the orders of the Grand Vizier, and by the letters from the *Armenian* merchant, *Cogee Serhaud*, one of the deputies then at *Dehly*, † to the Company's Preſident and Council at *Fort William*.

The reader need not be here further informed, that the privileges granted by the Emperor in thoſe Firmauns, in prejudice of

* See a copy of this treaty in the Appendix, A. Num. I.

† See Journals of the Houſe of Commons, vol. XXXIII. pages 850 to 859.

his own native ſubjects, laid the foundation of all the Company's future proſperity, as a commercial body; and that what was originally a gracious indulgence for trading duty-free, in the dominions of the Great Mogul and his dependent Nabobs, afterwards furniſhed the means to the Company and their ſervants, firſt of ſecuring the independency of ſuch Nabobs againſt their Sovereign, and, in the end, of diſpoſſeſſing even them of their dominions.

The Company's trade and power, however, were no ſooner eſtabliſhed on a proſperous footing, than the *Armenians*, who had principally contributed thereto, were the firſt that were made to feel a reverſe of fortune. Such impediments were thrown in the way of their inland-trade and external commerce, at the three principal ſettlements of the Company, but particularly in their trade to *Mocha*, *Judda*, and *Buſſorah*, that they were in a manner precluded therefrom altogether; unleſs they choſe to ſubmit to the groſſeſt impoſitions, in ſending their goods for thoſe markets on the private trading ſhips equipped by the ſervants of the Company; as hath been more fully made appear in * the firſt part of this work.

But the oppreſſions which the *Armenians* met with were not merely confined to trade. In latter times, every avenue to juſtice was ſhut againſt them in *Bengal*. During the government of Lord *Clive*, their reſidence in *Calcutta* was deemed taking refuge from the *country-government*, although the law of that very government was then no other than the will of the noble Preſident. They were reſcued from the Sheriff's cuſtody, deprived of their right, by charter, of appealing to the laws of *England*, and by military force baniſhed from a *Britiſh* ſettlement, for having brought their own reſpective cauſes before a *Britiſh* Court of † Juſtice.

During

* *Conſiderations on* India *Affairs*, Part I. chap. XIV.

† "At a Conſultation, held at *Calcutta* the 3d *March* 1766,
Preſent, The Right Honourable Lord *Clive*, Preſident,
General *Carnac*,
Harry Verelſt,
Francis Sykes,
Randolph Marriott,
Hugh Watts,
Claud Ruſſell,
William Alderſey,
Thomas Kelſall, and
Charles Floyer, Eſquires.

In appearing from *undoubted authority*, that one *Cogee Mockil*, an *Armenian*, has filed in the Mayor's Court, a fictitious ſuit againſt *Johanna Marcat*, an *Armenian* widow,

merely

During Mr. *Verelſt*'s government, the *Armenians* not only continued to be deprived of their trade *within* the provinces of *Bengal*, *Bahar*, and *Oriſſa*, but, as hath been ſhewn in the preceding third chapter, they were even publicly prohibited from trading, or reſiding, *beyond, or without thoſe provinces*; under the ſevereſt penalties of corporal puniſhment and confiſcation of property. The Preſident repreſented the reſidence or eſtabliſhment of *Armenians* at *Murſhedabad* and in the province of *Owd*, as a modern affair commencing with the Nabobſhip of * *Coſſim Ally Khawn*; although their nation had been ſettled reſidents and merchants there and all over *Hindoſtan*, not only before the eſtabliſhment of any *Engliſh Eaſt India* Company, but long before the exiſtence of the Mogul Empire in *India*.

It is true, that the Nabob *Coſſim Ally Khawn* had, during his ſhort government, ſeveral *Armenian* Generals and others of that nation, as ſervants, at his *Durbár*, or Court; as many Nabobs in *India* had had before him. But the misfortune of the *Armenians* in *Bengal* was, that one of their nation, *Cogee Petruſe*, was the chief inſtrument employed, underhand, in bringing about the revolution which placed that Nabob on the *Muſnud*. Mr. *Vanſittart*'s opponents, who had not been let into the ſecret, alleged, that "the "*Armenians* were ſpies; they were the Nabob's adviſers; they "managed him; they urged the diſputes, or they wanted to ex- "tirpate the *Engliſh*, to get their commerce to themſelves."

Such general and vague accuſations, which have alſo been re-echoed lately in the *Britiſh* Houſe of Commons, evidently owed their origination to the private intereſts or views of parties. If, owing no allegiance to the *Britiſh* crown, and independent of the *Engliſh Eaſt India* Company, ſome of thoſe *Aſiatics* ſerved the Nabob

merely with a view to evade the demands of the country government, with which ſhe has large accounts, and has therefore taken *refuge here* without our knowledge; and as nothing is ſo difficult as to inveſtigate colluſion of parties, to the ſatisfaction of law, as the Court may not have the power of redreſs, though convinced of the fact:

Agreed, therefore, to put a ſtop to practices ſo prejudicial to the Company's affairs (as they muſt neceſſarily interfere with the revenues) that the board interpoſe their authority, as Preſident and Council, and withdraw the Company's protection from both parties, *turning the complainant immediately out of the ſettlement*, and the defendant as ſoon as ſhe may be *regularly releaſed from the Sheriff's cuſtody*." See Journals of the Houſe of Commons, vol. XXXIII. page 933.

* See Appendix, E. page 352.

with

with fidelity, they could not be blamed for doing their duty, whether amicably or hoſtilely employed. But in any caſe, it would not be leſs illiberal to condemn all, for the conſequences of the actions of a few, than it would be unjuſt for the natives of *India* to curſe the whole nation, becauſe one *Armenian* principally contributed to obtain the Mogul Emperor's Firmauns for the *Engliſh* Company; or to revile the whole *Britiſh* nation, becauſe ſome individuals have been guilty of crimes in *India*, which no juſtice is likely to reach in this world, except it come from the immediate hand of GOD.

We have already ſhewn, by a general letter from the Directors to their ſervants at *Fort William*, dated the *26th of *February* 1702, that the then United Company ſtrenuouſly claimed, as their right, all the privileges and advantages, before obtained by the old, to be fully enjoyed by the new one, as "*the* Engliſh *national Company*, "*juſtly intitled to thoſe privileges.*" But when it became the object of conſideration, how far this United Company were bound by the engagements of the old one, the ſcales of juſtice were then balanced according to the ſyſtem of intereſt adopted by modern Directors.—When the treaty between the old Company and the *Armenians* was firſt demanded to be produced before a Committee of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, in *May* 1772, its exiſtence was denied.—After repeated applications from an honourable member, backed by an order of the Committee, it was at laſt reluctantly brought forth by the Court of Directors, who then had recourſe to their learned Solicitor and Standing Counſel; by whom it was determined, † that the old Company's charter and all their powers having been *ſurrendered*, the preſent *Eaſt India* Company, who derive their rights under a different charter, was not concluded by the agreement of the old Company, "*nor was there any act of parliament, or charter,* "*that warranted any ſuch poſition.*"

The foregoing facts will abundantly ſuffice to give the candid reader a competent idea of the conduct of the Company, and their ſervants, towards the *Armenians* in general. They have conſtantly received different characters and different treatment from different parties, as the minds of their reſpective leaders have been more or leſs intereſted, liberal, or prejudiced. But if the writer might preſume to give an opinion on this ſubject, after as much intercourſe

* Page 5.

† Appendix, A. Num. LV. page 277.

and acquaintance with them, as perhaps any ſervant of the *Engliſh* Company ever had, he would venture to pronounce the *Armenians* in *India* to be a ſober, induſtrious, honeſt, and peaceable ſet of merchants, from whom the Company might have continued to reap the greateſt advantages, if their abilities, as the beſt practical merchants there, had not interfered with the ſelf-intereſted views of the Company's chief ſervants, and thereby excited their jealouſy and reſentment.

With reſpect to the *Armenians*, *Gregore Cojamaul*, *Johannes Padre Rafael*, *Melcomb Philip*, and *Wuſcan Eſtephan*, who were cauſed to be ſuddenly ſeized, and ignominiouſly confined for ſeveral months by Governor *Vereſt* and the Select Committee of *Bengal*, unaccuſed and unheard; various were the pleas that were afterwards urged in attempting to juſtify ſuch illegal and cruel impriſonments; as may be ſeen at large by the documents * already referred to in the Appendix, under the Letter E.

Among other frivolous pretences, it was alleged, that they *were of a tribe of a bad caſt*;——that they acted as agents or *gomaſtahs* for *William Bolts* in carrying on his trade;——and that the trade which *Bolts* carried on through their means was illegal and detrimental to the Company.

If the deſcendants of ancient families of eminent merchants, honourably proſecuting trade by the laborious exertions of induſtry, merit ſuch reproach; under what TRIBE OR CAST ſhall we rank their accuſers? But it is not leſs inconceivable, how it could be criminal for thoſe gentlemen to act as agents for the writer, in a country where there was no law or prohibition to the contrary, than it would be difficult to conceive, how ſuch a prohibition could have been founded on the uſages of *Hindoſtan*, the laws of nature, or of nations, of God, or of man. Where they reſided, they were eſtabliſhed as merchants, like many other *Armenians*, trading on their own bottoms; and while they were tranſacting their own affairs, it could not be criminal in them to tranſact whatever buſineſs they choſe, on commiſſion, for other perſons; ſubject to, and in conformity with the laws and uſages of the country.

The trade which they had carried on for account of the writer, in the provinces of *Owd* and *Illahabad*, was ſo carried on with the entire conſent, approbation, and *perwânahs* of the Princes of the country, to whom he paid the duties they required. So far it was

* See particularly Num. XCII. page 423 of the Appendix.

ſurely

ſurely legal; and if in any other reſpect it could be proved illegal, the parties thereby injured, if any ſuch exiſted, had their legal recourſe for redreſs. Enough hath already been ſaid in pages 41 and 42 of the nature of the writer's trade in thoſe provinces, to prove it to have been extremely beneficial to the community; and if it be neceſſary to adduce any further proofs in ſupport of this poſition, we have not only the evidence of the * Reſident at the *Durbar*, but even of the Court of *Eaſt India* Directors † themſelves, to ſhew that the trade ſo carried on with *Sujah al Dowlah*'s dominions was deemed highly beneficial to the Company, and to their ſubjugated provinces in *Bengal*.

The Governor and Council, aware of the imbecility of ſuch charges, thought it ſafeſt to ſtand upon their political ground, and therefore, as guardians of the Company's poſſeſſions, they boldly aſſerted, that theſe *Armenians were diſcovered* in carrying on intrigues at the Court of the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*, of the moſt dangerous tendency to government, at a criſis when that Nabob's actions afforded them the greateſt reaſon for miſtruſt.

Notwithſtanding ſuch bold aſſertions, and that ſix years have elapſed ſince the impriſonment of the unhappy *Armenians*, thoſe gentlemen have never offered to give one inſtance of any of the intrigues which they *had diſcovered* them to have carried on at the Nabob's Court.——Had there been the ſmalleſt foundation in truth for ſuch a charge, the writer would have been the laſt man to ſtand forth their advocate. But the truth is, that two of thoſe who were impriſoned under ſuch pretences, had then never been within one hundred miles of any ſuch Court.——And with reſpect to the apprehenſions which the Preſident and Council affect to have entertained of *Sujah al Dowlah*'s hoſtile conduct, at the time when the *Armenians* were ſeized and expelled his country, they appear ſtampt with the infamy of falſhood from their own ‡ records.

But although it hath been fully proved, in the third chapter, that theſe impriſonments were not the optional acts of the *Indian* Princes themſelves, as aſſerted by the Preſident and Council of *Bengal*, in their letter to the Directors already cited, it will not be improper, in this place, briefly to conſider the *auguſt* and *indepen-*

* Appendix Num. LXV. page 397.
† Ibid. Num. XCIII. page 424.
‡ Ibid. E. Num. XVIII. page 363, and A. Num. XL. page 195.

dent situations in which those Princes stood with respect to the Company and their servants, at the time of those cruel transactions.

In the year 1768, the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*, who, only three years before, had been conquered; whose dominions had been divided; who had surrendered himself as a prisoner; and who had been restored to only a part of his country, by the servants of the Company, while they kept an army near him, more formidable than that with which Col. *Munro* beat him at *Buxar*, on the 23d *Oct.* 1764, when in the meridian of his glory, and joined by *Cossim Ally Khawn*; was not certainly in such an independent situation as to dare to resist any order or *request*, in which the President of *Calcutta* had *really shewn himself serious*, for the imprisonment or expulsion of any unprotected merchants within those provinces of which he might so easily have been dispossessed by the government of *Calcutta*. Much less could it, with truth, be alleged that *Bulwantsing*, his tributary Rajah, whose Zemindary had been first taken for the Company; then restored, and his possession, under a fixed annual revenue, guarantied to him by their servants, was in a state of independence at that period.—The style of Mr. *Verelst*'s letters * to him, and the treatment his Vakeel met with † at *Calcutta*, fully expose the ridicule of such a pretence.

As to those Nabobs through whom the prisoners were afterwards confined in the provinces of *Bahar* and *Bengal*, their high situations will best appear from the consideration of the following facts, proved by the records of the Company.

In *July* 1765, the Nabob of *Bengal*, in consideration of an annual stipend, agreed with ‡ Mr. *Francis Sykes* to throw all the affairs of government into the hands of such persons as should be appointed by the President and Select Committee at *Calcutta*; among whom, Mr. *Sykes*, their Resident at the *Durbar*, was the chief. In their proceedings § of the 18th *September* 1765, the Committee acknowledged, that the Company were come into the place of *the country-government*; and on the 3d *September* 1766, they further threw off the disguise, by declaring, ‖ that they were become the Sovereigns

* Appendix E. Num. XVI. page 361. Num. LXXVII. page 408. and Num. LXXXVI. page 417.

† Ibid. page 415.

‡ See Mr. *Sykes*'s letter of the 28th *July* 1765 to the Select Committee. *Considerations*, &c. vol. I. Appendix, page 136.

§ Present, Lord *Clive*, Mr. *Sumner*, General *Carnac*, Mr. *Verelst*, and Mr. *Sykes*.

‖ At a Committee, present, Lord *Clive*, General *Carnac*, and Mr. *Verelst*.

in

in *India*. At their meeting of the * 31ſt *December* 1766, they actually regulated the ſalaries that were to be received by *Mahommed Reza Khawn* at *Murſhedabad*, the Rajah *Shetabroy* at *Patna*, and other GREAT MINISTERS; to whom, although it was acknowledged that nothing remained but the name and ſhadow of authority, yet the Committee reſolved † that it was neceſſary they ſhould *ſeem to venerate that name and that ſhadow*: in conſequence of which plan, Mr. *Sykes* was directed by the ‡ Committee, never to make the Company appear as principals in any act of government.

In further ſupport of this ſyſtem, on quitting the chair of *Bengal*, Preſident *Vereliſt* alſo ſtrenuouſly recommended it to the Secret Committee to purſue ‖ "*a delicate conduct in ſcrupulouſly obſerving every* "*form that could indicate apparent dependance*," upon theſe Nabobs and Miniſters. And indeed, this ſyſtem was ſo *ſcrupulouſly* purſued that the Court of Directors, tired of the iniquities that were practiſed under ſo convenient a diſguiſe, although they had at firſt § approved of the ſyſtem, out of their great veneration for the authority which eſtabliſhed it, were at laſt induced to diſmiſs ¶ the GREAT *Mahommed Reza Khawn* himſelf, who, in conſequence of their orders, was brought down as a priſoner to *Calcutta*, to render an account of HIS MAL-ADMINISTRATION.

From theſe facts, it appears, incontrovertibly, that ſince the year 1765, the Nabobs of *Bengal* and *Bahar* have been, as they ſtill continue, no other than the mere Collectors of the Revenues under the Company's ruling Servants, and the convenient cloaks for any iniquity they chooſe to practiſe. By the proceedings of the bench of *Calcutta* Juſtices, on the 8th *September* 1766, it hath been already ** ſhewn, that Governor *Vereliſt* and his Council, who were the only Juſtices there, had unanimouſly declared themſelves to be not amenable to the *Britiſh* Courts of Juſtice in *India*, for any oppreſſions there committed. We have alſo ſhewn, that they paid no attention to the applications repeatedly made to them on behalf of thoſe *Armenians*; but, on the contrary, that they had publiſhed an edict which effec-

* Preſent, Lord *Clive*, Mr. *Vereliſt*, General *Carnac*, and Mr. *Sykes*.
† Proceedings of the Committee upon Lord *Clive*'s letter of the 16th *January* 1767.
‡ See Appendix A. Num. XXXII. page 168.
‖ In his minute of the 15th *December* 1769. See alſo his farewell-letter on this ſubject, Appendix A. Num. XLIV. page 212.
§ Ibid. Num. XXXI. page 166.
¶ Ibid. page 264.
** Appendix A. Num. XX. page 126.

tually

tually prevented them from ſecuring their effects, or * returning to their habitations, families, and buſineſs. In ſuch circumſtances, there was conſequently no proſpect of redreſs or ſatisfaction, but from the laws in *Great Britain*.

Deprived of all hopes of ever recovering their property, and encouraged by the fame of the moſt equitable laws on earth, two of thoſe *Armenians*, *Cogee Gregore Cojamaul* and *Cogee Johannes Padrè Rafael*, therefore, reſolved to come to *England*. Had their reſolutions been known before they embarked, they were apprehenſive they might again have been turned over to the tool of a Nabob for obſtruction in their deſign. On this account, they privately procured their paſſages in a *Dutch* ſhip; left *Calcutta* in *January* 1769, and embarked for *England* in queſt of juſtice: while the other two ſent their powers of attorney for the ſame purpoſe.

With theſe facts before him, can the impartial reader reſtrain his indignation, when he reads the following words, uſed by Mr. *Vereſt*, on theſe ſubjects? "Inſtead of *puniſhing Cogee Gregore* and *Johannes* "*Padre Rafael*, as they *deſerved*, ſuch was the *idle lenity* of our go- "vernment, that they *immediately* received their liberty, and every "*aſſiſtance* was offered to collect their effects; an aſſiſtance probably "*unneceſſary*, as they *choſe* to depart for *Europe*." †

Theſe two *Armenian* merchants, who, in their expedition from *India*, had no worldly dependance, but on the famed humanity and juſtice of the *Britiſh* nation, and the perfection of their laws, arrived in *England* in the month of *Auguſt* 1769; and on the 12th *September* following preſented an humble ‡ petition to the Court of *Eaſt India* Directors: who did not think proper to give them any ſatisfaction thereupon, although they were ſo convinced of the injuſtice that had been done to them, as afterwards to ‖ blame their Governor and Council for *not having accommodated the affair in* Bengal.

Unable to obtain from the Directors even ſo much as an anſwer to their petition, after patiently waiting the arrival of their oppreſſors from *Aſia*, in the month of *November* 1770, they brought their actions for damages, in the Court of Common Pleas, againſt Go-

* Appendix E. Num. LXX. page 403. See alſo the affidavit of *Gabriel Johannes*, ibid. page 409, and an extract of a letter from the ſame perſon, relative to a ſecond impriſonment of *Cogee Wuſcan Eſtephan*, by Captain *Gabriel Harper*, ibid. Number XC. page 422.

† *Vereſt*'s View, page 41.

‡ Appendix E. Num. LXXXIX. page 419.

‖ Ibid. Num. XCI. page 422.

vernor *Vereſt* and General *Smith*, who pleaded the general iſſue, "NOT GUILTY."

But before thoſe actions could be brought to a determination, the affairs of the *Eaſt India* Company appeared likely to become an object of parliamentary inquiry. Seeing the very little attention that was paid to their complaints, by the Court of *Eaſt India* Directors, who, by every ungenerous exertion of power and artifice, ſupported the tyranny of their ſervants, the *Armenian* merchants had the greateſt reaſon to apprehend, in the then ſituation of the Company's government, that when they returned to *India*, their perſons, property, and families, as well as thoſe of the reſt of their nation, would be expoſed to greater dangers and hardſhips than they had already experienced, from their having applied for juſtice in *England*. *Cojamaul*, therefore, on the 28th *February* 1772, preſented, on behalf of himſelf and others, * a petition to the Honourable the Commons of *Great Britain* in Parliament aſſembled; in which he prayed them to take the caſe into conſideration, and grant ſuch relief, with reſpect to the future ſecurity of perſons and property in *Bengal*, as might ſeem meet to the wiſdom of their Honourable Houſe.

This petition was ordered to lie on the table, in the uſual form, and a Committee of the Houſe, conſiſting of † thirty-one members, being on the 16th of *April* 1772 choſen by ballot, "to inquire into "the nature, ſtate, and condition of the *Eaſt India* Company and of "the *Britiſh* affairs in the *Eaſt Indies*," it was, on a ſubſequent day, ordered to be referred to their conſideration.

On preſenting this petition to Parliament, he had been informed, that the Court of *Eaſt India* Directors, having officially tranſmitted his memorial of the 12th of *September* 1769, to their Preſident and Council at *Bengal*, had received from them a full and explicit anſwer, with ſpecific charges againſt him. Preſuming, therefore, that the Directors were equally inclined to blame their ſervants, when culpable, as to defend them, when innocent; and that the protection of the inhabitants of *Bengal* was a principal object in their view, *Cojamaul* humbly ‡ requeſted the Court would be pleaſed to furniſh him with copies of ſuch charges. But the evaſion, and even falſity of the ‖ anſwer which was tranſmitted to him on this occaſion, will long remain an indelible ſtain of reproach on that Court. Still ſupporting

* Appendix E. Num. XCIV. page 425.
† Journals of the Houſe of Commons, vol. XXXIII. page 703.
‡ Appendix E. Num. XCV. page 426.
‖ Ibid. Num. XCVI. page 427.

the

the iniquitous proceedings of their President and Council of *Bengal*, and involving the *Armenian* merchants in queſtions, which, though we ſhould admit they might poſſibly ſubſiſt between the Company and the writer, were ſuch as thoſe gentlemen could have no concern with; it appeared, as if being the agent, or the friend of *William Bolts*, was deemed a ſufficient reaſon, in the eyes of the Honourable Court of Directors, for the oppreſſion or ruin of any man whomſoever.

Every thing alleged in Mr. *Cojamaul*'s petition to the Houſe of Commons was fully proved before the Committee; who, having examined into its merits, on account of the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, and the importance of the ſubject, begged leave to lay before the Houſe, as their * report, the whole of the evidence, as it ſtood on their proceedings; which was likewiſe formally ordered to lie on the table.

It is not improbable that the little attention paid to this petition and report, which were left upon the table, was owing to the prejudices that had been induſtriouſly propagated by the *Eaſt India* gentlemen and their connexions; that thoſe *Armenian* merchants were the agents, or *gomaſtahs*, of *William Bolts*, in the loweſt ſenſe of the word; and that their complaints proceeded wholly from faction. Governor *Verelſt*, as principally intereſted, having been particularly ſedulous, in his "VIEW," to impreſs ſuch an idea on the minds of the Public, in order to divert their attention from his oppreſſion of theſe innocent merchants; hath rendered it neceſſary, that the reader ſhould be perfectly acquainted with the meaning of the word *gomaſtah*.

In *Bengal*, and particularly among the *Engliſh*, the word *gomaſtah* is confined, in a partial ſenſe, to thoſe *Hindoos* who are ſent by the Company's ſervants into the inland-country, furniſhed with *duſtucks*, to buy or ſell goods, on ſtipulated monthly wages; without drawing commiſſion, or having the liberty to trade on their own account. But among the natives of *Hindoſtan*, in the more general acceptation, the word *gomaſtah* is indiſcriminately uſed for every ſort of repreſentative, or agent; from the ambaſſador down to the merchant's clerk, or even the foreman of a manufactory. Thus, in the *Firmauns* granted to the Company by the Emperor at *Dehly*, even the *Engliſh* deputies, who were ſent from *Calcutta* on that occaſion, are deſcribed by the appellation of † *gomaſtahs of the* Engliſh *Company*.

* Journals of the Houſe of Commons, vol. XXXIII. pages 914 to 944.
† Ibid. page 856.

Mr.

Mr. *Verelſt*, triumphantly exulting in his own impoſition on the Public, has, on this occaſion the following words: * "It is alſo "worthy notice, that one of Mr. *Hare*'s agents at this time, in "*Bulwantſing*'s country, was the very *Armenian (Cogee Gregore)* that "Mr. *Bolts* alſo employed, and has *ſince inſtigated* to come to *England*, "to ſupport, with others, his own proſecutions, by *a pretended ac-* "*cumulation of grievances*: an *Armenian* who has endeavoured to "impoſe a belief before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, "that he never acted as an *Engliſh* gomaſtah or agent, in *Bulwant-* "*ſing*'s dominions.—Such is the credit due to ARMENIAN FAITH!"

This *Armenian* gentleman, however, as well as the others, was really quite independent of the writer, and then reſident within the territories of a Prince who would have been alſo independent, if the treaties or public agreements made by the ſervants of the *Eaſt India* Company could have been relied on to make him ſo. In the *Bengal* acceptation of the word, Mr. *Cojamaul*, therefore, was no more the writer's *gomaſtah* than Mr. *Cartier*, Mr. *Rumbold*, and many other gentlemen of the higheſt rank in the Company's ſervice had been, who had diſpoſed of the largeſt conſignments from him, and been deeply concerned with him in trade, when they found it for their intereſt. His acting, at the ſame time, for Mr. *Hare*, and other perſons, was alſo a convincing proof of this aſſertion. He had acknowledged, in his memorial to the *Eaſt India* Directors, as well as in his evidence before the Committee, that he had tranſacted buſineſs as an agent for *Engliſh* gentlemen; but he very juſtly ſaid, according to his true idea of the word, that he did not act as *an* Engliſh *gomaſtah*; and he explains it fully in his evidence, † "*that he* "*did not trade by* Engliſh *authority*, *but paid duties as a merchant*, "WHICH WAS A CHARACTER OF MORE RESPECT." The candid reader will judge, from this quibble of Mr. *Verelſt*, on a word in the mouth of a foreigner, and from the other evidence before him, whether moſt credit is due to the *Armenian* merchant's, or to the *Engliſh* Governor's FAITH.

The oppreſſed *Armenian* merchants, although equally as diſguſted at the ineffectuality of all their applications to obtain ſecurity againſt future injuries, as tired at the delay they had experienced in ſeeking ſatisfaction for their paſt loſſes and ſufferings, in a country where they had imagined juſtice was ſo eaſily attainable, ſtill continued

* See his note, Appendix, page 189.
† Journals, vol. XXXIII. pages 916 and 918.

elated with the moſt ſanguine expectations from the favourable verdicts of an impartial *Engliſh* jury. They, therefore, directed their whole attention to the obtaining of the ſpeedy determinations of their actions in the Court of Common Pleas; which were ſet down for trial in *May* 1773: the parties on the 18th of that month having actually joined in ſtriking a ſpecial jury, in order for the trial of *Eſtephan*'s cauſe, during the ſittings after term.

To *convince* a generous people, how improbable it is, that a Governor and Council in *India* ſhould be guilty of any oppreſſions or illegal exertions of power, Mr. *Verelſt*, in his publication now under our conſideration, *aſſures* them, * "*it is utterly incredible, that theſe* "*gentlemen would riſque their own fortunes by an act which muſt come* "*before an* Engliſh *jury*;" from whom † "*the experience of every* "*day evinces, that an innocent and injured man would obtain ample com-* "*penſation.*"—Governors who ſhould conduct themſelves by principles of injuſtice, and wantonly abuſe their authority, he tells us, ‡ "*would not only be compelled to make full reſtitution to the injured* "*individual, but would, by their puniſhment, become ſevere examples,* "*to prevent the commiſſion of like crimes in future*;" and an *Engliſh* jury would ‖ "eagerly redreſs their fellow-citizen, and VINDICATE "THE RIGHTS OF HUMAN KIND."

Governor *Verelſt*, who left *Bengal* in the month of *January* 1770, and General *Smith*, who left it in *December* preceding, were both well informed, very early in the year 1769, that Mr. *Cojamaul* and Mr. *Rafael* had embarked for *England*, in order to obtain juſtice, by proſecutions, for the damages which they had ſuſtained, in conſequence of the oppreſſions and impriſonments which they had ſuffered.

In the year 1771, Mr. *Verelſt*, being choſen a Director of the *Eaſt India* Company, had, of courſe, free acceſs to all papers and records in the *India Houſe*; and during the year 1772, when out of the Direction, he, as well as the perſons employed by him to compile his *View of the* Bengal *Government*, which we have juſt quoted, were allowed the ſame acceſs, for ſerving the purpoſes of that *faithful* compilation; a material part of which was apparently calculated to injure the cauſes of thoſe very oppreſſed *Armenians*.

In ſuch circumſtances, with ſuch advantages, and after the expiration of ſo long a period of time, the candid reader will not, cer-

* *Verelſt*'s View, &c. page 51.
† Ibid. page 13.
‡ Ibid. page 14.
‖ Ibid. page 15.

tainly,

tainly, have ſuſpected, that the defendants could have any reaſonable cauſe for putting off the trials of actions to which they had pleaded NOT GUILTY: much leſs will his honeſt mind have conceived, that Governor *Vereſt* ſhould be the firſt man to ſhrink back, in his own cauſe, from the determination of a jury of his fellow-citizens, whom he had ſo juſtly deſcribed. Nevertheleſs, the attorney for the defendants in theſe cauſes appeared in Court, on the 20th of *May* 1773, and *ſwore*, * "that he apprehended and believed the defendants "could not be properly prepared for trial at the ſittings after the "term, it being neceſſary, in his judgment and belief, to make "ſearch and examination into the books and records of the *Eaſt India* "Company, which, as he apprehended, would require a great deal "of time, and could not be done with due attention, ſo as to be pre-"pared for trial at the ſaid ſittings." On the ſame day, General *Smith* likewiſe appeared, and *ſwore*, that † "*Gabriel Harper*, Eſq; "then abroad, he believed was a moſt material witneſs, without "whoſe teſtimony he could not ſafely proceed to the trial of the "cauſe; and that by the letters which he, *Smith*, had received from "the ſaid *Harper*, he had great reaſon to believe he would return "to *England* in the courſe of the enſuing ſeaſon:" although Captain *Harper*, having been a principal in the impriſonment of thoſe *Armenian* merchants, if he had arrived within the juriſdiction of the *Britiſh* Courts, would have been made a party to the actions, and, therefore, *could not be admitted as a witneſs.*

On theſe affidavits, the Court of Common Pleas put off the trial to the following term, which commenced the 11th, and ended on the 30th of *June* 1773. But on the 16th of *June*, Governor *Vereſt* filed three very long bills in the Court of Exchequer; one againſt *Wuſcan Eſtephan*, abſent in *India*, and one againſt each of the other *Armenian* merchants, *Cojamaul* and *Rafael*, then in *England*; in which he ſought a diſcovery from the parties, on oath, *whether he was not juſtified in what he had done*; and prayed, that injunctions might be granted to ſtop the proceedings on the actions depending in the Court of Common Pleas, until the teſtimony of witneſſes, particularly *of the Nabob* Sujah al Dowlah, *and other* Indian *Princes*, could be had from *India*, under a commiſſion to be iſſued out of that Court.

* See the affidavit of Mr. *John Skirrow*, Appendix E. Num. XCVII. page 429.
† See the affidavit of *Richard Smith*, Eſq; ibid.

If the Princes in *India*, whoſe evidence had become neceſſary for Governor *Vereliſt*, to prove himſelf "NOT GUILTY," were independent Princes, as well might a *Britiſh* Court of Juſtice expect teſtimony, on oath, from his Majeſty of *Pruſſia*; and if they were dependent, and, at the pleaſure of the Directors or other ſervants of the *Eaſt India* Company, liable to be deprived of their poſts; of the annual ſtipends allotted to them; or of the territories over which they are placed farcically to preſide: equally obvious muſt be the conſequences. The anſwer from *Eſtephan*, whoſe caſe, as Mr. *Vereliſt* well knew, was exactly the ſame with *Rafael*'s, if deemed neceſſary by the Court, in ſuch circumſtances, could not be had, but under an expreſs commiſſion to be ſent to *India*. To the other two bills, although very long, and the time allowed by law for anſwering was only eight days, Meſſrs. *Cojamaul* and *Rafael* reſpectively put in full and unexceptionable anſwers; and Governor *Vereliſt* having filed his replication on the 9th *July* 1773, theſe cauſes were again at iſſue.

But to ſupport the equity of his bill againſt the abſent *Eſtephan*, in order to obtain the injunction ſought, Mr. *Vereliſt* alſo appeared in Court, on the 25th of *June* 1773, and *ſwore*, * "that his bill was "not filed with a vexatious intent, or merely to delay the trial at "law, but for a diſcovery of the matters, and to authenticate the "ſeveral public acts particularly mentioned therein, by an exami-"nation of many of the witneſſes therein named; that he verily be-"lieved the action at law was brought againſt him for matters ſup-"poſed to be done by him in the *Eaſt Indies*, acting in his public "capacity, as Governor of *Bengal*; that the damages laid in the de-"claration were twenty thouſand pounds, and that many facts and "circumſtances, material for his DEFENCE on the trial, were only "in the knowledge of the perſons mentioned in his bill, reſidents in "the *Eaſt Indies*, the benefit of whoſe teſtimony he could not have "without a commiſſion; under which he verily believed he ſhould "be able to have the depoſitions taken of many of the perſons named "in his bill, *and particularly of the ſeveral Princes of the country, in "amity and alliance with the* Eaſt India *Company*, in *whoſe territories "the facts and circumſtances happened*; and that without their teſti-"mony, he *verily believed he could not make a full and proper* DE-"FENCE, on the trial of the ſaid action."

Yet, on ſuch proceedings and affidavits, the Court of Exchequer, bound, as it ſeems, by the ſtrict letter of the law, or the eſtabliſhed

* See the affidavit of *Harry Vereliſt*, Eſq; Appendix E. Num. XCIX. page 430.

practice of the Court, were forced to grant a * writ of injunction to ſtop the proceedings on the action brought by *Wuſcan Eſtephan* in the Court of Common Pleas, until a full anſwer could be had from the plaintiff in the *Eaſt Indies*: and in the cauſes of the two other *Armenian* merchants, who had put in full and unexceptionable anſwers, commiſſions were likewiſe † granted *for the examination of witneſſes* IN INDIA.

After ſo much fruitleſs expence of time and money, the cauſes, for the proſecution of which thoſe injured *Aſiatics* came over from *India* to *England*, were hereby likely to be kept for years undecided. For ſuch delay, an extenſive field lay open, from the obſtructions that might be contrived; beſides the chances againſt the plaintiffs, from deaths and other accidents; and beſides the diſadvantages which would naturally attend them in the execution of thoſe commiſſions, under the DOUBLE-GOVERNMENT in *Bengal*, as hath been more particularly ſhewn in ‡ the firſt part of this work.

Let the humane reader, then, here contemplate the diſtreſsful ſituations to which theſe *Aſiatics* were reduced, in attempting to obtain juſtice from the ſo highly boaſted laws of *England*, for the worſt of oppreſſions ſuffered in *Hindoſtan*, from the exceſſes of tyranny and rapine, practiſed under a treacherous diſguiſe, by a lawleſs oligarchy of trading and military adventurers, in the characters of ſervants to a commercial community.—They had however one reſource yet left,—that of an appeal to the Right Honourable the Houſe of Lords; of which they availed themſelves. But, exhauſted alike in patience and in purſe, with ſuch a melancholy proſpect before them of immenſurable delay, from what they were told was the lenient indulgence of law-practice in this country, one of them, in deſpair, had actually departed the kingdom, lamenting the inefficacy of his applications for juſtice, and the improbability that appeared of his being ever able to obtain it; while the other was mournfully preparing to follow him.

On the 21ſt *June* 1774, theſe appeals came on before the Lords, when the Right Honourable Lord *Mansfield* made ſome very ſtriking obſervations on the too-indiſcriminate rule of granting injunctions on the allegations of plaintiffs in the firſt ſtages of cauſes in equity.—His Lordſhip remarked, that, in many inſtances, this practice, which it was too much the intereſt of ſolicitors to ſupport, was totally

* See a copy of this writ, Appendix E. Num. C. page 431.
† Appendix E. Num. CI. page 432.
‡ Conſiderations, &c. vol. I. page 88.

ſubverſive

ſubverſive of juſtice; as in any ſuit brought by a foreigner, even on the cleareſt ground, ſuch as bills of exchange and policies of aſſurance, the defendant might file a bill; inſert therein as many falſities as he thought proper; ſtate the tranſaction to have happened in whatever country he pleaſed; and by ſwearing that without the teſtimony of the witneſſes named in his bill, he could not ſafely proceed to trial; obtain, as a matter of courſe, a commiſſion to examine the truth of his allegations, which might never be executed. It was alſo obſerved by his Lordſhip, that the ſole uſe of the commiſſions obtained in theſe cauſes appeared to be delay; and that the motives for this delay were exactly the ſame as thoſe of a man who, to eſcape immediate danger from a tyrant-king, undertook to teach a dog *Latin* in three years, on pain of death; and who, on his friends cenſuring the abſurdity of his engagement, urged that he had thereby gained three chances of eſcaping; as, before the expiration of the time, the king might die, the dog might die, or he might die.

The Right Honourable Lord High Chancellor *Apſley* ſtrongly corroborated the Lord *Manſfield*'s opinion; and obſerved, that as the *Britiſh* Empire was now extended to every part of the globe, it became of the higheſt conſequence, that on all applications for commiſſions to examine witneſſes abroad, the Courts ſhould minutely examine into the merits of ſuch applications;—that in the cauſes then before the Houſe, there were no grounds for granting the commiſſions:—that as the reſpondents, by the plea of NOT GUILTY, had confined themſelves to the fact, and the *onus probandi* lay intirely upon the appellants, no plea of juſtification could be admitted; and as the books and orders of the Preſident and Council of *Calcutta*, as well as many gentlemen perfectly acquainted with the facts and nature of the caſes, were then in *England*; every thing that could poſſibly be urged in mitigation of damages, might be produced on the trials, in as ſatisfactory a manner, as if the commiſſions had been actually executed.

After theſe debates, the Lords were pleaſed unanimouſly to reverſe the orders of the Court on which the injunctions had iſſued, and the plaintiffs *Cojamaul* and *Raſael* were again at liberty to proceed to the trial of their actions. This righteous decree of the ſupreme Court of *Britiſh* Judicature at once diſpelled the deſpondency of the *Armenian* ſuitors, and inſpired them with new hopes of juſtice. *Raſael* returned from *Venice*; and on the 12th and 13th of *December* 1774, the two cauſes at laſt came on in the Common Pleas, before the Lord Chief Juſtice *De Grey* and a ſpecial Jury.

If the plaintiffs had been guilty of any malpractices or misdemeanours, in the course of their transactions, it is not to be supposed, consistently with the power and authority of the men concerned in these imprisonments, that, after so many years had elapsed, their crimes would not have been found out and exposed on these trials. However, none such appeared. The learned Counsel for the defendants called no witnesses; but, as is customary on such occasions, confined themselves to the exercise of their ingenuity before the Jury, in attempting to justify their bountiful clients, and depreciate their opponents. They rested their apology for the defendants on what had been suggested by the President and Council of *Calcutta*, as entered on the Company's records; every allegation whereof hath been fully noticed and refuted in these sheets. The inconsistencies of those pretences naturally reduced them to the absurdities of asserting, in one breath, that *Sujah al Dowlah* was an independent Prince, possessing armies sufficient to shake the power of the *East India* Company; and in the other breath of alleging, that, without the intervention of Mr. *Verelst*, he had not authority equal to the punishment of a simple individual in his own family:—in one breath, to allege the plaintiffs were of such consequence that they could shake the Empire of *Hindostan*; in the other, to represent them so insignificant as to be unworthy of receiving any compensation for damages.

But neither the eloquence of the learned Advocates, nor the shields of the *independent* Nabobs, could defeat the penetration of the Lord Chief Justice *De Grey*, or the honest integrity of the *English* Jurors.

Not to be deceived by flimsy arguments, the Jury found verdicts against Mr. *Verelst*, of five thousand pounds for the plaintiff *Rafael*, and of four thousand pounds for the plaintiff *Gregore*.

It is true that the plaintiffs could not bring home their proofs, so as to affect the defendant *Smith*, who, although the original cause and instigator of all their sufferings, had so cautiously conducted himself in *India*, as, on the trial, to leave his colleague in the lurch. On this occasion, it was unfortunate for them that three of the principal witnesses whom they called upon had lost all recollection of the transactions. Sir *Robert Barker*, who commanded the army at *Illahabad* in General *Smith*'s absence, and to whom *Rafael* was * transmitted by Captain *Harper*, could not remember by what means the prisoner came to him, or how he was dispatched to *Patna*; Colonel

* See Appendix E. Num. XXVIII. page 370. Num. LXXX. page 411. and Num. LXXXV. page 416. See also *Mahommed Reza Khawn*'s letter to Mr. *Verelst*, View of *Bengal*, &c. Appendix, Num. 124. page 208.

Charles

Charles Chapman, who commanded at *Patna*, where the guards of the priſoners were changed, remembered nothing of the matter; and Mr. *Francis Sykes*, the Reſident, under whoſe directions *Mahommed Reza Khawn* acted, at the *Durbar*, could only recollect that the plaintiffs were treated with great humanity, but knew nothing of their impriſonment.

Such were the terminations of theſe long-depending litigations; on which it may be truly ſaid the *Armenian* ſuitors have been ruined, although they have gained their cauſes: for what compenſation can it be deemed for theſe gentlemen, after the expiration of ſo many years, to receive leſs in damages than they would have gained in one year, if left unmoleſted to the peaceable enjoyment of their eſtates and trade in *India*; while a great portion of the ſums decreed them hath been diſburſed in the neceſſary charges of their paſſage, and their ſo long reſidence in this expenſive country?

But the mediocrity of the damages can only be lamented as a misfortune that muſt attend all ſuitors from *India*, in ſimilar caſes, where the proofs of the plaintiff's loſſes depend wholly upon the evidence of *Hindoos*, who cannot be brought to this country without incurring ſuch infamy as moſt of them would rather die than ſubmit to; as hath been more fully ſet forth in the firſt part of this * work.

It is further to be lamented, that the laws have yet provided no penalties that are adequate to the puniſhment of oppreſſions committed under the pretence of the public good. The invader of private property, or the public robber, who pretend to no right but of force, may by force be repelled, ſeized, and conſigned to the penal retribution of their crimes; and the life of the aſſaſſin may be taken in ſelf-defence. But the greateſt of all offenders, the oppreſſor who ſpreads forth miſery and deſtruction over whole families, by the perverſion of authority and the abuſe of power, triumphs in the lenity of the law, or ſets juſtice at defiance under the garb and ſanction of magiſtracy.

* Conſiderations, *&c.* vol. I. page 89.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

ON the MAL-ADMINISTRATION of JUSTICE by the late PRESIDENTS and SELECT COMMITTEES in BENGAL; with a VINDICATION of the AUTHOR of CONSIDERATIONS, &c. from MR. VERELST'S MISREPRESENTATIONS on that SUBJECT: and cursory Remarks on the Introduction of the *English* Laws among the *Indians*.

MUCH artful misrepresentation hath been employed, by Mr. *Verelst*, to mislead the public, upon the express charges brought by the author of "CONSIDERATIONS on INDIA AFFAIRS," against the late Presidents and Select Committees of *Bengal*, for their wicked administration of justice, or undue interference with the Courts; but particularly in what the writer had * related concerning the complaint of an *Armenian*, named *Parseek Arratoon*, in the Mayor's Court; those of the *Hindoos*, † *Gocul Sonar*, and ‡ *Ramnaut Dass*, and of § *Alexander Jephson*, Esq;——Unfortunately for Mr. *Verelst*, he was principally concerned in all those oppressions; the mere knowledge of which, with what hath already appeared from the press on those subjects, must make it unnecessary to add much in this place, for the purpose of a complete exposure of that gentleman's fallacies. The simple evidence of facts shall, therefore, be opposed to his laboured strains of sophistry and declamation; and leave him not one evasive subterfuge.

In the case of PARSEEK ARRATOON, the writer charged two plain facts:—an undue interference with a *British* Court of Justice, on the part of the President, at *Calcutta*; and a prostitute compliance on the part of the Court. This interference was expressly charged to be, the President's writing a *private letter* to the Mayor of *Calcutta*, then sitting in judgment on a cause, in which he, the President, was himself collaterally interested; in consequence whereof,

* *Considerations*, & vol. I. pages 91 and 185.
† Ibid. page 95.
‡ Ibid. page 98.
§ Ibid. Appendix, page 43.

a *ſudden ſtop was put to the deciſion* by the Court, while the plaintiff was left without any kind of redreſs.

To evade theſe facts preciſely charged to have happened in *Auguſt* 1768, Mr. *Verelſt* gives an account (View of *Bengal*, &c. page 23) of ſome tranſactions relative to the cauſe which happened at an inland *Cutcherry*, or one of the *Country Courts*, previous to *Auguſt* 1768; and alſo of what happened on a propoſed arbitration, after *Auguſt* 1768, together with one intended petition (Appendix, page 174) which was not made uſe of in *Auguſt* 1768; and another ſimilar petition (Appendix, page 175) of which ſome uſe was made on the 4th *May* 1770: none of which circumſtances can be applied to, much leſs juſtify, the facts charged. The writer of CONSIDERATIONS, *&c.* deemed it unneceſſary to enter into a minute detail of the circumſtances of the caſe between the plaintiff and the defendants; but as Mr. *Verelſt* has laboured much in attempting to impeach the writer's veracity upon the ſubject, it now becomes requiſite for him to ſay ſomething more, in order to remove the cloud of miſrepreſentation with which that gentleman has ſought to obſcure the truth.

It hath been already ſhewn, * that in the beginning of *June* 1765, and before the regulations for the notorious monopoly of ſalt were made public at *Calcutta*, a ſecret partnerſhip was formed between Lord *Clive*, Mr. *Sumner*, Mr. *Verelſt*, and Mr. *Sykes*, for engroſſing the ſalt then laying in the hands of private merchants. It hath alſo been ſhewn, † that before Lord *Clive* quitted the government of *Bengal*, his ſhares of thoſe ſalt-adventures, under the management of Mr. *Verelſt*, and likewiſe his third part of another ſalt-adventure, in partnerſhip with General *John Carnac* and Mr. *Verelſt*, were ſold by his Lordſhip, for a valuable conſideration, to *Harry Verelſt*, *Francis Sykes*, and *Alexander Campbell*, Eſquires, each one-fourth; and to *Claud Ruſſell* and *Thomas Kelſall*, Eſquires, each one-eighth concern. Upon the departure of Mr. *Sumner* for *England*, Mr. *Verelſt*, with the reſt of that gentleman's concerns, had purchaſed alſo his ſhare in the ſalt-adventures, ſo that the ſucceeding Governor of *Calcutta*, and the Reſident at the *Durbar*, had become the principal proprietors in thoſe ſalt-concerns, which were carried on, among other places, at *Nattour*, by the agency of a gentleman named *Tom Lewis*. In *September* 1767, an eminent *Armenian*

* Page 29.

† *Conſiderations*, &c. vol. I. Appendix, page 158.

merchant,

merchant, named *Parſeek Arratoon*, filed a bill in the Mayor's Court againſt Mr. *Tom Lewis* and others, who were the agents for Meſſrs. *Verelſt* and *Sykes*; ſetting forth, that he had a conſiderable quantity of ſalt in his warehouſes at *Nattour*, and other places, under the charge of his gomaſtahs, or agents; and that the ſervants employed by Mr. *Lewis* for buying up all the ſalt in that part of the country, had applied to them to ſell the complainant's ſalt, which they declined, having directions from their employer not to ſell it. That thereupon, the ſervants of Mr. *Lewis* told the complainant's agents, that the price of ſalt was twelve annas *per* maund, and throwing down a rupee upon the ground, by way of earneſt, afterwards inſiſted the ſame was a bargain, and demanded the delivery of the ſalt. That the complainant's agents refuſed to comply with this demand, as the price offered them was not more than *one-fourth part* of what they then expected for his ſalt; whereupon, the ſervants of Mr. *Lewis* broke open the warehouſes, and forcibly took the ſalt away, to the damage of the complainant in the ſum of current rupees, * 60,432.

To this bill the defendant, Mr. *Lewis*, and *Ramſunder*, his banyan, appeared, and put in their anſwers; wherein they denied the ſeveral charges contained in the bill; and inſiſted, that the matter in diſpute having been left to arbitration, had already been determined in favour of Mr. *Lewis* in a Cutcherry-court, at or near *Nattour*. To this the complainant filed his replication; the defendants rejoined; and the cauſe being at iſſue, a great many witneſſes, who had been preſent at the diſputes and controverſies between the agents of the complainant and defendants, were examined, whoſe teſtimony fully proved the facts charged in the bill: and by the anſwer of the defendants it alſo appeared, that Governor *Verelſt* and Mr. *Sykes* were equal partners with Mr. *Lewis* in the pretended purchaſe.

Mr. *Verelſt* acknowledges in his † book, that "this affair, in "particular, was entirely under the management of Mr. *Lewis*, "who had an equal intereſt therein with himſelf and Mr. *Sykes*." In his evidence, before the Committee of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, he has alſo ‡ acknowledged that book to be his writing; and declared "it contained a full account of the affairs relat-

* 7,500 l. ſterling.
† View of *Bengal*, &c. page 22.
‡ Reports of the Houſe of Commons, vol. III. page 463.

ing to Mr. *Lewis*:" but at the ſame time being aſked, "Whether Mr. *Tom Lewis* was one of the agents for the partnerſhip?" he ſaid, No.

He acknowledges, that ſuch was the pretended violence complained of by *Parſeek Arratoon*, as before related; but he inſiſts, that the ſalt was * fairly purchaſed, and that "the tranſaction "ſtands above all poſſible imputation," becauſe *it came before the Cutcherry* before-mentioned, and "an award was made in favour of "the purchaſer."——But he has not informed the reader, that this *Cutcherry* was under the power of his partner, Mr. *Sykes*; that it was there known, that Mr. *Vereliſt* at *Calcutta*, and the Reſident at the *Durbar*, were the all-powerful copartners in this ſalt-tranſaction; that their own gomaſtahs or dependants were the perſons who declared this contract to be "*a fair and legal bargain*;" and that the injuſtice tranſacted at that pretended Court, was the foundation of the *Armenian*'s complaint in *Calcutta*; although to impoſe a belief of the equity of this *Cutcherry*, of iniquity, Mr. *Vereliſt* wrongfully confounds it with the deſcription given by the author of *Conſiderations*, &c. of the regulated JUDICIAL Court of Cutcherry in *Calcutta*.

He acknowledges, that the cauſe was at † iſſue in the Mayor's Court, as before deſcribed; but he ſays, ‡ "the plaintiff had "brought the cauſe to a hearing upon *ex parte* depoſitions;" and he excuſes himſelf and partners, as perſons § "*who could not be* "*ſuppoſed to be acquainted with the forms required, or preſcribed by a* "*Court of Judicature.*"——Yet Mr. *Vereliſt* himſelf had been, for a conſiderable time, one among the Judges of the Mayor's Court.

Mr. *Vereliſt* acknowledges, that "he ‖ wrote a note to the Mayor;" thinking his character, as well as property affected, and that he preſented ſeveral petitions to the Court on the occaſion; yet, as he did not appear upon the face of the proceedings, before the Court, as a defendant, or party, nothing could be more unbecoming than the Governor's preſenting ſuch note, or joining in ſuch petitions, except the great indecency of the Mayor, or the Court, in admitting them to be taken any notice of.

* View of *Bengal*, &c. page 23.
† *Vereliſt*'s View, &c. page 23. and Appendix, page 175.
‡ Ibid.
§ Ibid. Appendix, page 176.
‖ Ibid. page 24.

He

He ſays, that, at * *his own requeſt*, *Petruſe Arratoon* did agree to an arbitration, and choſe the arbitrators for a ſecond reference; but "diſtruſting probably the juſtice of his cauſe, he wanted to "inſert, as a condition, that *his witneſſes only* ſhould be heard." But the writer † can prove, that *Arratoon* only objected to the laying before the arbitrators the depoſitions of certain witneſſes who had been brought from *Nattour* after the cauſe had been heard, in *Auguſt* 1768, and which had been *privately taken without an order of the Court*, and *without his having had an opportunity to croſs-examine them*.

After all, this cauſe, the deciſion of which was put off in *Auguſt* 1768, upon the private requeſt of Mr. *Verelſt*, who did not appear as a party on the proceedings before the Court, was heard a ſecond time, in the year 1770, when, even in the Mayor's Court, the plaintiff obtained judgment for the whole of his demand, with intereſt and coſts of ſuit; and the parties have thought proper to comply with that ſentence, rather than appeal therefrom to his Majeſty in Council. If they had juſtice on their ſide, and were ſo much injured by the decree as Mr. *Verelſt* repreſents, why did they not appeal ‡? And if the writer's repreſentations of this tranſaction were ſo injurious to the Preſident, why did he not vindicate himſelf in *Bengal*, ſince his conduct therein was one of the charges fairly and openly brought againſt him by the writer, in his ‡ memorial of the 5th *September* 1768, on the ſpot, where the facts could have been fully and eaſily aſcertained?

With reſpect to the conduct of the Preſident and Council, in their double capacities of ſupreme Juſtices and Secret Committeemen, towards the *Indian* goldſmith, named *Gocul*, and the mer-

* *Verelſt*'s View, *&c.* page 24.

† *Extract of a letter now in the writer's poſſeſſion, under the hand of* Charles Sealy, *Eſq*; *Mr.* Verelſt's *Attorney at Law. Dated* Calcutta, *the* 19*th* December 1769.

"In the cauſe of *Parſeek Arratoon* againſt *Tom Lewis* and others, there are the de-"poſitions of *Ramſaw* and *Kittinarainboſe*, taken by Mr. *Bryer*; and the depoſition of "*Kiſno Saran*, which I believe muſt alſo have been taken by Mr. *Bryer*, as the ſame is "in the hand-writing of one of his clerks, although not ſigned by him.——The matter "is about to be ſettled by arbitration; but *Cogee Petruſe*, who is attorney for *Cogee* "*Parſeek*, objects to the above depoſitions coming before the arbitrators, on account "that they were not taken by order of the Court, and that no interrogatories were filed "to the witneſſes who gave the ſame."

‡ Appendix E. Num. XXXI. page 512.

chant, *Ramnaut Daſs*, every word related by the author of * *Conſiderations* is ſtrictly true; although, by confounding and interweaving the tranſactions of different periods, Mr. *Verelſt* has involved the truth in great intricacy. Nevertheleſs, the writer, being intimately acquainted with their whole conduct in theſe affairs, will find no difficulty in exhibiting the facts clearly to the view of ſuch of his readers, as may have the patience to refer to the authorities, and attend to the dates herein cited.

GOCUL SONAR's complaint againſt *Nobekiſſen* was originally made to the Grand Jury, at the General Quarter Seſſions, held at *Calcutta* on the *fourth day* of *March* 1767, and this Mr. *Verelſt* † acknowledges.——He further ſays, "when the petition was delivered "into Court, it became the duty of the Juſtices to decide, whe-"ther they had authority to hear the cauſe. Upon deliberation, "they were all unanimouſly of opinion, that a criminal charge "between the natives only, did not belong to the juriſdiction of "the Seſſions. ‡ Actuated therefore by *honeſt motives*, the Juſtices "unanimouſly referred the complaint of *Gocul Sonar* to the Court "of Zemindar, and the buſineſs of the Seſſions being finiſhed, the "Juries were called, and diſmiſſed."

The paper in queſtion was a preſentment, delivered by *Gocul Sonar* to the Grand Jury, then ſworn in, which *never came* before the Court. The buſineſs of the Grand Jury was to examine into the foundation of the complaint, and to find a *true bill*, or diſmiſs it, according to the merits proved before them; and it was the duty of the Judges, not to obſtruct the Jury in that buſineſs. The matter would then have come legally before the Court; who, as Counſel for the accuſed, would have heard his objections to their juriſdiction.——But this preſentment was received through the clerk, not officially, but in a private manner, from the hands of one of the Jurors, by Mr. *Verelſt*, then ſitting as Chief Juſtice; who, inſtead of returning it to the impanelled Jury, for their inquiry, as bound by his duty and oath to do, was pleaſed to pocket it.—There was no deliberation had on the ſubject, except a few private whiſpers among the Secret Committee-men, then ſitting as Judges on the Bench, which no man preſent in Court could hear; after which, in an abrupt and haſty manner, they called and diſ-

* *Conſiderations*, &c. vol. I. pages 95 to 98.
† View of *Bengal*, &c. page 25.
‡ Ibid. page 27.

miſſed the Juries. But ſo far was the buſineſs of the Seſſions from being finiſhed, that none was done; although there were ſeveral *Engliſhmen* in priſon, then waiting their trials, for crimes or miſdemeanours.

As to the Court of Quarter Seſſions in *Calcutta* poſſeſſing no juriſdiction in criminal charges between the natives only, the Court had uniformly exerciſed ſuch juriſdiction, from the firſt promulgation of his Majeſty's moſt gracious Charter of Juſtice. In caſes between native and native, Mr. *Vanſittart* judiciouſly obviated Mr. *Vereſt*'s objections, by cauſing the petit Juries to be compoſed one half of natives and the other of *Europeans* The former Courts of *Eaſt India* Directors, in their inſtructions for executing the charter, had conſtantly given orders to their Preſidents and Councils at the *Britiſh* ſettlements in *India*, that "if a native chuſes the deciſion "of his grievances by *Engliſh* laws, thoſe, and thoſe *only* muſt be "purſued, *according to the directions in the charter*;" wiſely foreſeeing, that * "no ill effects could ſpring therefrom, but when their "ſervants wreſted and perverted the powers given in the charter, "to ſerve bye-ends and purpoſes."

But in the ſame † page where Mr. *Vereſt* diſputes the exerciſe of the juriſdiction of the charter againſt the natives, he gives an inſtance to confirm it, of a man who was tried, condemned, and hanged, in the year 1762, for cutting off his wife's noſe. Nor is he more fortunate in his aſſertion, that in *Gocul Sonar*'s caſe, the Judges were ‡ *unanimouſly* of opinion againſt ſuch juriſdiction; for one of thoſe very righteous § Judges hath declared, before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, in his evidence upon the char-

* *Extract from the Company's orders to their ſervants in* India, *relative to the Charter. Dated in* February 1730-1.

"You ſay very truly that the charter tranſmitted to you was calculated for the bene-
"fit, eaſe, and good regulation of our ſettlements; and it is as true, that none of the
"effects complained of, as ariſing from the charter, can with any juſtice or reaſon be
"attributed or imputed to it.
"The charter conveys to you the laws of *England*, and preſcribes the method of
"putting thoſe laws in execution, and from thence no ill effects can ſpring. But when
"our ſervants wreſt and pervert the powers in the charter, to ſerve bye ends and pur-
"poſes, and to accompliſh thoſe ends act inconſiſtently with their covenants which bind
"them to ſerve us faithfully, then it is that thoſe conſequences complained of muſt
"and will naturally follow."

† View of *Bengal*, page 26.

‡ Ibid. page 27.

§ Mr. *Claud Ruſſell*. See his evidence, Reports, vol. IV. page 332.

ter

ter as it then ſtood, that " though the Mayor's Court cannot ex-
" erciſe juriſdiction over natives, unleſs by conſent, the juriſdic-
" tion of Oyer and Terminer extends to natives as well as *Euro-*
" *peans.*"

The juriſdiction, therefore, of the criminal Court of Cutcherry, as exerciſed over the natives in *Calcutta*, under the denomination of the Fowzdary, or Zemindar's Court, conſidered conſiſtently with the charter, has ever been wholly illegal. It has, moreover, ever been a tyrannical Court; for however convenient to a Preſident, or Secret Committee, the power therein exerciſed was never any other than that of inflicting fines, corporal puniſhments, baniſhment, condemnation to work upon the high-roads in chains, and even death, at the arbitrary will of the Deputy, or Deputies of the Preſident and Members of the Board. Such was the Court of the Zemindar, to which Mr. *Verelſt* ſays the Judges at the *Britiſh* Court of Seſſions, or, in other words, the Preſident and Members of Council themſelves, *unanimouſly* referred the complaint of *Gocul Sonar*; but which Mr. *Ffloyer*, the Zemindar, ſays *was* * *delivered to him in the month of* March 1767, *by the Preſident, who deſired him to enquire into it.*

This complaint was no other than the original information preſented by *Gocul Sonar* to the Grand Jury *on the 4th* March 1767, which Mr. *Verelſt* had pocketed, when he ſuddenly diſmiſſed the Juries, in order to ſcreen the accuſed from juſtice. It hath been ſhewn in the firſt part of this work, that to account for this extraordinary proceeding, it was reported about the town, that there was a want of formality in the information, from its not having been firſt given, and ſupported, on oath, before a Juſtice of the Peace; and that the complaint would be heard and determined by the Zemindar. Informed of the objections which were ſaid to have been made againſt the formality of the preſentment, and determined to ſeek redreſs from the laws of *England* only, the complainant, *Gocul Sonar*, *on the twentieth day of* † March 1767, applied to

* Appendix F. page 477.

† By an error in the printing of the firſt part of " *Conſiderations on* India *Affairs*," the information of *Gocul Sonar* was dated the 20th of *May* 1767, inſtead of the 20th of *March* 1767, which has given Mr. *Verelſt* occaſion for the ingenious doubts he has raiſed (page 29) againſt the authenticity of the copy of the information given by the author of " *Conſiderations*," page 96. As Mr. *Verelſt* had free acceſs to the records in the *India-houſe*, if he had conſulted the original papers, but particularly the writer's memorial of the 12th *October* 1767, (Appendix F. page 457.)

he

to Mr. *Charles Ffloyer*, who was at that time the acting Juſtice, as well as Zemindar, *expreſsly* to receive, *as Juſtice of Peace*, his complaint againſt *Nobekiſſen*, and bind him over to the next ſeſſions. This application was made in preſence of Colonel *Hugh Grant* and others, as well as of the writer; and Mr. *Ffloyer*, after a ſharp altercation, having reluctantly conſented to do his duty as a Juſtice, ſtrictly * examined *Gocul Sonar*, with an evidence named *Kiſno*, and ſwore them to their informations; which he alſo underſigned, in due form, as one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace.

In order to ſhew the propriety of the pretended reference of *Gocul Sonar*'s complaint, from the Court of Seſſions to the Court of the Zemindar, Mr. *Verelſt* groundleſsly aſſerts, that the *very few* inſtances of puniſhment inflicted by the *Britiſh* Courts † "had ſpread "a general alarm;" and for proof thereof he ſelects a petition of ninety-five inhabitants upon the caſe of one *Radhachurn Metre*; who, in *February* 1765, was tried and condemned to death at the General Quarter-ſeſſions. The caſe of this man, who had been banyan to ſeveral gentlemen in *Calcutta*, was, that he had forged a codicil to a will in his own favour; but being of a rich family and extenſive connexions, in order to ſave him, ninety-five perſons, chiefly his relations and fellow-banyans, were prevailed on to join in a petition to the Preſident and Council, who had been his judges; wherein, after modeſtly ſetting forth, that the culprit had been ‡ "*indicted for* "*and convicted of a crime of which he was intirely innocent*," they prayed the board to reſpite his execution, until a report of his caſe could be made to his Majeſty in *England*, and his moſt gracious pleaſure be known thereupon. The petitioners further prayed, that the *Engliſh* laws, by which they and their countrymen in the *Britiſh* ſettlements were to be tried, might be tranſlated into the *Bengal* language. So far from having any averſion to the *Britiſh* laws, the na-

he would have found the true date was the 20th *March* 1767. Fortunately for the writer's veracity, this error doth not affect any fact that he has aſſerted. But it is more than probable that Mr. *Verelſt* knew this to be an error of the preſs, ſince he himſelf has given Mr. *Ffloyer*'s minute (ſee his Appendix, page 202) in which the month of *March* is ſpecified, and was alſo the grand mover of the proceedings at the Select Committee on the 18th *April* 1767, when the *Zemindar's report* on this matter was taken into final conſideration. With reſpect to the blank left in Mr. *Ffloyer*'s ſaid minute, in *Conſiderations* (page 98), of which Mr. *Verelſt* takes notice, in his *View of Bengal* (page 30), it was left ſo, perhaps deſignedly, in the original minute in *Bengal*, from which the writer copied what he has there given the Public.

* View of *Bengal*, page 29. See alſo Mr. *Ffloyer*'s minute, Appendix F. page 477.

† Ibid. page 27.

‡ Ibid. Appendix, page 177.

tives in general, as far as they were made acquainted with them, preferred them to their own in all matters which did not affect their religious cuſtoms; but particularly the trial by Juries. If the Preſident and Council neglected to cauſe ſuch tranſlations to be made into the *Bengal* language, as were neceſſary for the direction of the inhabitants, they were guilty of unpardonable neglect of duty, and violation of juſtice. But it may be ſafely aſſerted, that if the free and general ſenſe of *all* the inhabitants had been taken, they would have prayed to be governed by any law whatever, rather than by the undeclared will of a Secret Committee, or the arbitrary mandates of a Governor.

The other argument which Mr. *Vereſt now* urges, for the propriety of referring the complaint of *Gocul Sonar* to the Zemindar, * "becauſe the accuſation related to the exerciſe of judicial autho-"rity in the *Caſt-cutcherry* by *Nobekiſſen*, aſſiſted by the miniſters of "their religion," if true, would have appeared with greater propriety made judicially on the ſpot, when the tranſaction happened. But the reader muſt not infer from what Mr. *Vereſt* has ſaid, that there really exiſted in *Calcutta* a regular legal court, with officers, miniſters, and records, called a CAST-CUTCHERRY, for the determination of ſuch matters as related to the religious purity of the † *caſts* or tribes of the *Hindoos*. There was then no ſuch *cutcherry*, nor can any records be produced to prove it's exiſtence; but the adjuſtment of the affairs of the *caſts* was a power which, upon the ſubverſion of the country-government, had been aſſumed by the Governor of *Calcutta*, and was delegated by him to one of his banyans; as in the preſent caſe it had been to *Nobekiſſen*: a power, as deſcribed in the preceding ‡ volume, which is of the moſt tremendous conſequence to the *Hindoo* natives in the ſettlement, as it gives the Governor and his banyan the moſt unbounded and pernicious § dominion over them. In the caſe before us, *Gocul Sonar*'s complaint was againſt this very *Nobekiſſen*,

* View of *Bengal*, page 27.

† This word is derived from the *Portugueze caſta*, from which language many other words have been adopted by the *Engliſh* in *India*.

‡ Conſiderations, *&c.* vol. I. page 83.

§ Upon this ſubject Mr. *Vereſt* himſelf ſays (page 142) "The Mahomedan Governors "often take advantage of this principle, when they want to extort money; and ſo highly "do the *Hindoos* value their religious purity, that after they have borne the ſevereſt cor-"poral puniſhment, rather than diſcover their wealth, a threat of defilement will effect "what torture has attempted in vain."—If ſuch the power of a *Mahomedan* Governor, what might not be effected by the *Engliſh* Preſident of *Calcutta*, to whom all other Governors in *Bengal* are now ſubordinate?

who

who was ſuſpected and accuſed of * crimes which he might have been enabled to commit under the cloak of that very power delegated to him by the Governor, which alſo ſerved him as a ſhelter to ſet juſtice at defiance.—The Zemindar, Mr. *Charles Ffloyer*, was one of the gentlemen lately brought from *Madraſs*, who ſcarcely underſtood one word of the *Bengal* language, in which the evidence muſt be taken, on an affair that required the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs; while his *Indian* interpreters did not poſſeſs much greater knowledge of the *Engliſh*, in which it was to be recorded. Conſidering, therefore, the power and influence which *Nobekiſſen* poſſeſſed by virtue of his various † offices; the nature of the Zemindar's Court; the letter and ſpirit of the King's Charter of Juſtice, and the expreſs orders made thereupon by the Courts of Directors; there was no man, but much leſs the ſuperior ſervants of the Company, or his Majeſty's Juſtices in a *Britiſh* ſettlement, who, if "*actuated by honeſt motives*," would have ſo referred the complaint of *Gocul Sonar*, from a legal Jury to the illegal Court of the Zemindar.

Let us now conſider the conduct of the Zemindar, Mr. *Charles Ffloyer*, in conſequence of this pretended reference. In order to explain how he had got rid of the complainant as one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace, Mr. *Ffloyer* ſays, in *his minute of the fifth of November* 1767, that he ‡ ſigned the depoſitions as Juſtice of the Peace, BY MISTAKE, inſtead of ſigning them as Zemindar; although *Gocul Sonar*'s application was made to him, in the preſence of witneſſes, expreſsly in his capacity of a Juſtice of Peace, and no other; and although the very information to which he ſubſcribed on the 20th

* Mr. *Vereſt* ſays (page 29) that the witneſſes (meaning, it is preſumed, the complainant *Gocul Sonar* and his brother *Kiſno*) "ſwore to the *rape* of their ſiſter," which is not fact. In the original depoſition (of which the tranſlation is given in the Appendix F. page 457) the expreſſion in the *Bengal* language was *noſto córritè*, which ſignifies to violate by depriving of the *caſt*, as well as by the commiſſion of a rape; although upon a fair trial, it is probable the latter might have been found the crime.

† *Nobekiſſen* deſcribes himſelf as being in Mr. *Vereſt*'s ſervice, and Mr. *Vereſt* acknowledges him to have been his *Munſhy* or *Perſian* Secretary, and alſo *political banyan* or banyan to the Select Committee. See Appendix A. Num. XXVI. pages 146 and 148. He alſo ſuperintended the collection of ſeveral conſiderable diſtricts, as well as the affairs of the *caſts* of the *Hindoos*: by virtue of all which there were no bounds to his power among the natives. But perhaps, becauſe Mr. *Vereſt* had another banyan named *Gocul Ghoſaul*, he aſſerts (ſee his note, page 28) that *Nobekiſſen* was not banyan to the Governor, in order that the reader ſhould from thence infer that this man poſſeſſed neither power nor influence.—Should we allow the utmoſt latitude to this equivocation, and admit that NOBEKISSEN WAS THE POLITICAL BANYAN AND SERVANT OF THE PUBLIC! did he not act under the expreſs direction of the Preſident?

‡ Appendix F. page 477.

of *March* 1767, as a Juſtice, prayed that the party accuſed might be bound over to the next Quarter-ſeſſions, with which, as Zemindar, Mr. *Ffloyer* could have no buſineſs. Neither could the preſentment pocketed by Mr. *Vereſt*, on the bench, at the Quarter-ſeſſions of the 4th *March* 1767, have any connexion with the complaint on oath of *Gocul Sonar*, taken *de novo* by Mr. *Ffloyer* on the 20th *March* 1767, and founded expreſsly on the neglect that had been ſhewn to the former complaint: although, in the minute above referred to, Mr. *Ffloyer* induſtriouſly confounds one with the other.

Mr. *Vereſt* has not favoured the Public with the proceedings ſaid to have been held in conſequence of this matter's being ſo referred from Mr. *Ffloyer* Juſtice of the Peace, to Mr. *Ffloyer* Zemindar. But it is certain that the complainant *Gocul Sonar*, or any of his injured family, or their evidences, were never heard or examined in the Zemindary Court; nor could they ever obtain any information of what was done in conſequence of *Gocul*'s complaint. The Zemindary proceedings, if any ever exiſted, were kept with as much ſecrecy as thoſe of the *French* Baſtile or the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, every perſon concerned therein being induſtriouſly precluded from any knowledge of them, as the reader will perceive on reference to our *Appendix; where it appears, that upon an application made on the ſpot for that purpoſe by the writer, he was within twenty-four hours referred from Mr. *Ffloyer* Zemindar to Mr. *William Alderſey* Zemindar, and from him to Mr. *Henry Goodwin* Zemindar; which laſt gentleman, in conſequence of the orders he had received from his ſuperiors, refuſed to communicate to him any part of the pretended Zemindary proceedings. Nevertheleſs, Mr. *Vereſt* has the modeſty to aſſert before the Public, that † "had Mr. *Ffloyer* aſſerted "a falſhood, the means of detection were abundant."

But, from the conduct of Governor *Vereſt* and his aſſociates, it appears that, in their ideas of the adminiſtration of juſtice, neither the *Britiſh* Courts of Quarter-ſeſſions nor the *Zemindar's Cutcherry* were ſufficient for the determination of the complaints of *Gocul Sonar* or any other man, againſt their *political banyan*, *Nobekiſſen*; for they finally transferred it into their ſelect department, where, under oaths of ſecrecy to each other, the plaintiff was equally precluded from obtaining juſtice, and themſelves ſecured from being detected in the injuſtice which they practiſed towards him. The candid reader

* Letter F. par. 34 to 37. pages 458 and 459.
† View of *Bengal*, page 29.

would

would ſcarcely pardon us if we did not introduce him, on this occaſion, into the private receſſes of our *Calcutta* Legiſlators and Judges. The ſecret records, therefore, of the *junto*, held on the 18th *April* 1767, upon this buſineſs, which have ſince been brought to light, are given in our * Appendix, where the reader will ſee the moſt unprecedented proceedings upon a pretended charge againſt *Nobekiſſen*, for the violation of a Brahmin's † wife, which notwithſtanding it had no connexion with the complaints of *Gocul Sonar* and *Ramnaut Daſs*, is introduced, and artfully blended with them, in vindication of the accuſed, and to give the appearance of juſtice to the proceedings of the Select Committee; who, although compoſing only a part of the board, and poſſeſſing no judicial or legal authority in the matters before them, dared to proceed in open defiance to their country's laws, to pronounce ſentences of impriſonment, ‡ baniſhment, and flagellation, againſt perſons unheard.

As to the complaint of the merchant RAMNAUT DASS, the oppreſſions that he ſuffered, and which have been ſlightly mentioned in our ſecond § Chapter, commenced in the year 1765, under the government of Lord *Clive*. The writer "*thought it foreign to his* "*purpoſe to relate*" the particulars of this man's ſufferings at that period, as being no way neceſſary to illuſtrate the facts laid before the public in the firſt part of ‖ *Conſiderations*; which alone concerned the conduct of the Preſident and Select Committee of *Calcutta*, in the year 1767. But as Mr. *Verelſt* ſeems to ¶ notice this omiſſion as a fault, we have given, in our Appendix, all ſuch original ** papers as have ſince come to our hands on the ſubject of *Ramnaut*'s firſt impriſonment. On conſideration of thoſe papers, the candid reader will be forced to acknowledge, that the part Mr.

* Appendix A. Num. XXVI. page 145.

† The writer had evidence to prove, before the board, when he delivered his memorial of the 12th *October* 1767, that the Brahmin woman received, in the Governor's houſe, the inſtruction of what ſhe was to ſay before the Select Committee.

‡ See the reſolution of the Committee of the 18th *April* 1767, Appendix, page 155. In conſequence of which, one man, named *Ramſurn Ghoſe*, was not only cruelly flogged, but treated with the moſt wanton ignominy, according to the notions of the *Hindoos*; having the lock, which, from religious motives, they preſerve on the crown of their heads, called *Teeky*, ſhaved off, and being afterwards driven about the town of *Calcutta* upon an aſs.

§ Page 60.

‖ Pages 99 to 106.

¶ View of *Bengal*, page 30.

** Appendix A. Num. XVI. pages 52 to 119.

Verelſt.

Verelſt acted in the firſt, does not redound more to his credit than his conduct in the ſecond ſcene of this man's perſecutions.

A peruſal of the papers here * referred to, will alſo make it unneceſſary, in this place, to trouble the reader with repetitions on the ſubject. After the ſtricteſt examination into the matter, it will be found, that the firſt impriſonment of *Ramnaut*, by the Preſident and Secret Committee, proceeded from their deſire of procuring evidence to blacken Mr. *George Gray* in the eyes of the Company, or Directors in *England*. Indeed, the pretences ſet up were, the benefit of the country, and the obtaining reſtitution for the inhabitants ſaid to be injured at *Maldah*, where Mr. *Gray* had reſided as Chief of the Company's factory. But let the reader weigh the proceedings and events in his own mind, and oppoſe the evidence of facts and the actions of the parties, to their pious profeſſions of diſintereſtedneſs and regard for the welfare of the community, and he will not balance one moment on the deciſion.

But Mr. *Verelſt* is not contented with a ſlight impoſition upon the public. In juſtification of the neceſſity for ſuch impriſonments, he proceeds to tell them, † "the ordinary Courts of Juſtice had "not ſufficient power to repreſs the evil. Had the charge againſt "Mr. *Gray*," of extortion, "been true, the Mayor's Court could "only have obliged him to refund the money, and the penal juriſ-"diction of the Court of Seſſions extends little beyond the limits "of *Calcutta*."

The juriſdiction of thoſe *ordinary Courts* extending to reſtitution of property, and to life or death, what more would Mr. *Verelſt* have? Will he ſay *Ramnaut*, when confined in *Calcutta* by the Secret Committee, was not within the juriſdiction of the *Britiſh* Courts? Will he ſtill amuſe the public by holding out the poor Nabob, and allege that the neceſſary witneſſes could not be brought from *Maldah* to *Calcutta*? Or will he ſay the Preſident and Select Committee had not power to inſtitute a fair, open, and legal trial in a Court wherein they themſelves would have preſided as Judges?

Mr. *Verelſt* confeſſes, that "*in* ‡ April 1767, *Ramnaut* applied "by letter to the Governor, for leave to lay his caſe before the "Juries at the next Seſſions, now *for the firſt time*, accuſing *Nobe-*

* Appendix A. Num. XVI. *Conſiderations*, vol. I. pages 99 to 106. Appendix F. Num. XVII. page 450. and Num. XXXII. page 513. *Verelſt*'s View, pages 30 to 34.

† *Verelſt*'s View, page 32.

‡ Ibid.

"*kiſſen*

" *kiſſen* of extorting * money from him during his former confine-
" ment. † Afraid to complain at the time, he had ventured to
" do this at the diſtance of a year and a-half, although his enemy
" continued in his former employment." As to the complainant's being impriſoned this ſecond time, Mr. *Verelſt* ſays, he confined him ‡ " to prevent his being tampered with and inſtructed in his
" evidence, until he could be examined by the Committee;" but, continues Mr. *Verelſt*, § " this was not a ſubject of inquiry before
" that Court to which he wiſhed to ſubmit it;" and after remarking, that " had the complaint been founded in truth, the Com-
" mittee could have done him ample juſtice, and puniſhed the
" offending party," Mr. *Verelſt* triumphs in the poor impriſoned victim's not producing his evidence before the Select Committee.

The truth is, that *Ramnaut* was treated with ſuch inhuman rigour during his confinement, that not only he, but his witneſſes, were intimidated to the laſt degree. Seeing the plaintiff himſelf ſuffered ſo much for merely lodging his complaint, they juſtly concluded that his evidences had much more to dread who might ſtand forth to ſubſtantiate the charges. Some of them, therefore, quitted the ſettlement through fear, while *Ramnaut*'s relations and advocates adviſed him to evade giving up the names of any witneſſes unleſs his complaint could be brought to a fair and public trial, in a legal Court of Juſtice.——*Ramnaut*'s maſter, Mr. *George Gray*, left *Bengal* in *February* 1766, and the noble Lord, who had been both the avowed protector of *Nobekiſſen*, and *Ramnaut*'s original perſecutor, had but left the Preſidency of *Calcutta* in the latter end of *January* 1767. Mr. *Verelſt*, therefore, is not ſurely ſerious when he affects ſurprize at *Ramnaut*'s not complaining before the beginning of *April* following; nor when he informs the public, that his complaint was not a ſubject for a *Britiſh* Court of Juſtice. Much leſs will he ſeriouſly undertake to teach the public, by what law under the *Britiſh* conſtitution, the Select Committee could puniſh the offending, and redreſs the injured party; or a Governor of *Calcutta* confine a COMPLAINANT, to prevent his being tampered with, and inſtructed in HIS EVIDENCE.

* It appears, that complaints were made by *Ramnaut* of his being robbed of money and jewels, in *October* 1765. See the depoſition of *Francis Peacock*, Eſq; Appendix, page 61.

† View of *Bengal*, page 33.

‡ Ibid. page 32. See alſo Appendix A. page 149.

§ Ibid. the note at the bottom of the page.

Upon ſuch principles of juſtice, however, the oppreſſed *Ramnaut* was referred to the Secret and Select Committee of Reformers, and by them at laſt, on the 18th *April* 1767, ordered to be transferred for further impriſonment and puniſhment, to their tool of a Nabob; as well to ſcreen from detection, their ſecret proceedings concerning him, as to prevent him from renewing his applications to the *Engliſh* laws for redreſs.—* "Tired with his artifices, the Com-"mittee, at length, ordered this man to be delivered over to *the* "*country-government*, that he might be compelled to make *ſatisfac-*"*tion to the perſons he had injured*," in conformity to a † reſolution of *the* 30*th* December 1765; and accordingly on the 3d *May* 1767, being a *Sunday*, he was bound and dragged through the city of *Calcutta* away to *Murſhedabad*.

Thrice happy inhabitants of *Maldah*!—Nothing could equal the humane feelings of this holy and compaſſionate Committee, except the tender commiſeration of the pious Preſident, who, notwithſtanding *Ramnaut*, in ‡ "*a feigned name*," and by a "*villainous* "*artifice*," had bought of him, a quantity of ſalt and boats which he had diſintereſtedly ſold him upon the moſt *diſadvantageous terms*, yet generouſly refrained from receiving *any part* of the debt due from *Ramnaut*, until reſtitution had been obtained for the unhappy people who had been ruined by his villainy at *Maldah*; and who had ſolemnly engaged not to receive a rupee's worth of the debt, "*until all the unhappy ſufferers, by* Ramnaut's *extortions, whom he* "*could not too much compaſſionate, were fully indemnified*!"

But although Mr. *Verelſt* has thus piouſly aſſerted, that not a ſingle demand was ever made upon *Ramnaut* on his account; that he had poſitively forbidden any ſuch demands; and that he never had received, nor ever would receive, a ſingle rupee from him on account of the goods he had ſo ſold him: we have the evidence of *Ramnaut*'s letters to prove, that ſuch demands were made upon him, under the ſevereſt § threats of corporal puniſhment, and even death; and that thirty-one thouſand, two hundred Sunott rupees had been actually paid ‖ by him, on this account, to Mr. *Richard Barwell*,

* *Verelſt*'s View, page 33.

† Appendix A. page 154.

‡ Ibid. F. page 476. *Ramnaut* informed the writer, that the bargain for the ſalt was made by him in Mr. *Verelſt*'s preſence, although ſet down in the name of his brother *Bogwandaſs*, according to a cuſtom of the country. See Appendix, page 516.

§ *Conſiderations*, vol. I. page 104.

‖ Ibid. Alſo Appendix F. page 55.

Upon

to

to whom Mr. *Verelſt* had conſigned his ſalt.—It is true, Mr. *Verelſt* calls the letter laſt referred to *a* * *ſuppoſed letter from* Ramnaut, notwithſtanding the original was delivered in to the board at *Calcutta*, with the writer's memorial of the † 5th *September* 1768, and together with the other letter therein ‡ inſerted, which is ſtill in his poſſeſſion, was then ready to be authenticated and proved.—But leſt it may not be permitted us to oppoſe the evidence of letters from ſuch an infidel *Hindoo* as *Ramnaut*, to the teſtimony of ſo good a chriſtian as Mr. *Verelſt*, we have ſtill the evidence of § Mr. *Barwell*, through whom the money was received; and if that ſhould fail us, we have yet the teſtimony of the ‖ Select Committee of the 18th *April* 1767, to which Mr. *Verelſt* himſelf ſubſcribed; alſo an original account of his demand made up and tranſmitted to *Ramnaut* by Mr. *Verelſt*'s ¶ banyan, and a letter ** from *Mahommed Reza Khawn*, which was received by Mr. *Verelſt* on the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1768; to prove, that *the moſt preſſing demands were made* upon *Ramnaut* for Mr. *Verelſt*'s debt, of which, as there now only †† *remains a part unpaid*, with a *good faith* we might conclude, that all the injured inhabitants at *Maldah* have been fully indemnified!

Much more might be ſaid to expoſe the inconſiſtency, and prove the injuſtice of the proceedings of the Preſident and Select Committee of *Calcutta*, upon the complaints of *Gocul Sonar* and *Ramnaut Daſs*. But after the unprejudiced reader has peruſed and conſidered what has been already laid before him, together with the papers herein referred to, the reflections which, from the plain evidence of facts, will naturally ariſe in his mind, will be more than ſufficient to ſhock his humanity. We will, therefore, now paſs on to the affair of *Alexander Jephſon*, Eſq; which was ſubmitted to the public by the author of ‡‡ *Conſiderations*, in order to ſhew the irregularity of the proceedings of the Mayor's Court of *Calcutta*, and not the interference of the Preſident and Council with the Courts of Juſtice.

* View of *Bengal*, page 33, at bottom.
† Appendix F. page 514.
‡ Ibid. page 513.
§ *Conſiderations*, vol. I. note at bottom of page 105.
‖ Appendix A. page 151.
¶ Ibid. F. page 514.
** Ibid. B. Num. XXIV. page 297.
†† *Verelſt*'s View, page 33, at bottom.
‡‡ Appendix to *Conſiderations*, vol. I. page 43.

Mr. *Verelſt* has ſpared the writer the trouble of commenting upon what he has publiſhed on this caſe of Mr. *Jephſon*. It will be a ſufficient expoſition to contraſt his own words. In one place he ſays,

* "The Author of Conſiderations, not contented with this happy "inſtance of domineering power, produces another extraordinary "caſe of Mr. *Alexander Jephſon*, where the Governor and Council "*refuſed to interfere* with the Courts of Juſtice. Mr. *Bolts* has "given us full proof, *viz.* the memorial of an angry man to the "Court of Directors. The greater part of this ſtory is ſuch, that "I, with Mr. *De Grey*, know not how to believe the parties con-"cerned in tranſacting it would admit it to be true."

Mr. *Verelſt* has cautiouſly avoided attempting to diſprove any of the facts ſet forth in the memorial of the angry man, of which he here affects to doubt the truth.—Now let us ſee what his ſentiments were, at another time, upon the ſubject of this very memorial, and the treatment which had been received by Mr. *Jephſon*, as ſubſcribed to by this ſame Mr. *Verelſt*, as one of the † Directors, in a letter from the Court to their Preſidency of *Bengal*, dated the 3d of *May* 1771. His words were theſe:

"Par. 13th. The facts ſtated in the memorial laid before us are of ſo extraordinary a nature, and the treatment Mr. *Jephſon* and his wife received ſeemed to us ſo big with oppreſſion and injuſtice, that before we could judge what was fitting to be done therein, we thought it adviſeable to lay the whole of the proceedings before Mr. *Sayer*, the Company's Counſel, for his opinion, which we tranſmit to you herewith, together with the opinions of Sir *William De Grey*, the preſent Chief Juſtice of his Majeſty's Court of Common Pleas, and of Sir *Fletcher Norton*, formerly his Majeſty's Attorney General, and now Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, on Mr. *Jephſon*'s caſe."

"Par. 14th. It is with much concern and indignation that we obſerve our Courts of Juſtice proſtituted to ſuch purpoſes as muſt carry with them not only an indelible reproach to the Courts themſelves, but to that Government by which they were inſtituted. And that we may intirely acquit ourſelves of giving the leaſt countenance to ſuch illegal acts, we enjoin you immediately to receive Mr. *Jeph-*

* View of *Bengal*, page 24.

† The Directors who ſubſcribed this letter were, *John Purling*, *George Dudley*, *Thomas Rous*, *John Woodhouſe*, *John Manſhip*, *Frederick Pigou*, *Henry Savage*, *William James*, *John Roberts*, *Edward Wheler*, *Henry Fletcher*, *George Cuming*, *J. Hurlock*, *Harry Verelſt*, *John Michie*, *Daniel Wier*, *John Harriſon*, *Peter Du Cane* jun. *James Cockburn*, and *Lawrence Sulivan*, Eſquires. See the letter here referred to more at large, Reports of the Houſe of Commons, vol. IV. pages 341 and 342.

ſon's appeal whenever he ſhall preſent the ſame, that you enquire ſtrictly and minutely into the circumſtances of his complaints, and cauſe full and ample juſtice to be done therein."

"Par. 15th. After having thus expreſſed our abhorrence of proceedings carrying on the face of them ſuch evident marks of oppreſſion, we truſt that you will in future prevent any further complaints of this nature againſt yourſelves; and that on the preſent occaſion you will without favour or affection put in execution the advice of our Counſel, if ſatisfactory evidence can be obtained of ſuch inſolent * declarations being uttered from the bench as are laid to the charge of thoſe ſitting upon it to adminiſter juſtice under the laws of *England*, and thoſe laws only."

It is hoped the candid reader will find the foregoing detail to contain a complete vindication of the veracity of the Author of *Conſiderations, &c.* reſpecting what he has ſubmitted to the Public on the matters treated of in this chapter; and that it will be found equally to ſtand the teſt of future time, unimpeachable. We will now preſume to ſubmit a few curſory remarks to his conſideration on the practicability of making the *Eaſt Indians* happy under the laws of *Great Britain*.

Much hath been ſaid on the impoſſibility of introducing the *Engliſh* laws among the natives in *Bengal*; although no judicious man acquainted with *India* ever yet adopted the idea of an univerſal introduction of ſuch laws. The truth is, that the men who have made the greateſt clamour upon this ſubject have been ſuch as wiſhed not to ſee any law at all introduced, that they and their friends might have the greater latitude left for continuing to govern or plunder at will with impunity. Among the foremoſt of ſuch writers appears Mr. *Verelſt*, who, in order to deter the Legiſlature from introducing any part of the *Britiſh* code among the *Indians*, repreſents them,

* The declarations alluded to in this paragraph, as uttered from the bench, refer to a charge contained in the memorial of Mr. *Jephſon* to the *Eaſt India* Directors (which was firſt publiſhed in *Conſiderations, &c* Appendix, page 43. and afterwards in the Reports of the Houſe of Commons, vol. IV. page 338.) againſt *Cornelius Goodwin*, Eſq; late Mayor of *Calcutta*, that when ſitting in judgment he had declared "they had nothing to do with "the laws of *England* there, nor would he ſo much as hear them named while he ſat upon "the bench." As this affair was firſt given to the Public in *Conſiderations, &c.* the writer has thought it incumbent on him to exhibit the termination of it. He has therefore given Mr. *Goodwin*'s juſtification before the Governor and Council at *Calcutta* in *January* 1772, as taken from the ſeventh Report of the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons, made on the 6th *May* 1773, together with the memorial of Mr. *Richard Whittal*, on the ſame ſubject, as delivered to the Honourable Chairman of that Committee on the 17th *June* 1773. See Appendix A. Num. LIII. page 267. and Num. LIV. page 273.

contrary to fact, as an ignorant uncivilized people. He deduces his laboured arguments from the intricate ſyſtems of preſumption and * implication, derived from antiquity, in the *Engliſh* law, and endeavours to frighten the reader with the long † train of one hundred and ſixty capital felonies created by *Britiſh* Acts of Parliament. Not contented with this, he is pleaſed to aſſert, that in *Bengal* the people do not even ‡ ſuppoſe juſtice due from the magiſtrate, and that § "we might as well tranſplant the full-grown oak to the banks "of the *Ganges*, as dream that *any part* of a code, matured by the "patient labours of ſucceſſive judges and legiſlators in this iſland, "can poſſibly coaleſce with the cuſtoms of *Bengal*."

Happily for the natives of *India*, the cloven foot at laſt appears. ‖ "Let *Britiſh* laws," ſays Mr. *Vereſt*, "be adopted in *Bengal*, the "Preſident of our ſettlement will poſſeſs neither power nor *prerogative*, but will ſink to a level with the meaneſt."

It is admitted, were the *Engliſh* laws, with all the intricacies incident to their complex adminiſtration, and the ſhoals of lawyers neceſſary to uphold their "*glorious uncertainty*," to be introduced among the ſubjugated natives of *India*, they would labour under misfortunes much greater than any that have yet befallen them: for the *Hindoos*, too, have their code, which has been equally matured by the wiſdom of ages, and is as ſuitable to them as their climate is adapted to the ſoil they tread. When time ſhall again have cleared the *Hindoo* ſyſtem from the ruins of ſucceſſive revolutions, and from the darkneſs wherewith it has been obſcured by the difficulties of a dead language unknown to the whole world, or by the prieſtcraft and ignorance of the modern Brahmins, perhaps the more we learn of it, the more we ſhall admire it. With the *Hindoo* or the *Mahommedan* ſyſtem it would, therefore, be equally as impolitic as it is unneceſſary to interfere.

But although there is no neceſſity for tranſplanting the whole trunk, much leſs any of the decayed branches, nor any proſpect of their flouriſhing on the banks of the *Ganges*; yet the grand ſhoot and main ſupport of the *Britiſh* full-grown oak would take root and proſper in any climate; and particularly in *Bengal*, at this criſis, if the *prerogative*, as Mr. *Vereſt* calls it, of the Governors, be not

* View of *Bengal*, &c. page 136.
† Ibid. page 141.
‡ Ibid. note, page 136.
§ Ibid. page 134.
‖ Ibid. page 140.

purpoſely

purpoſely exerted to prevent it's growth.——We mean the trial by Juries.

The great riſk to which the natives in the interior provinces are expoſed is from the *Engliſh* gentlemen becoming the only merchants and the ſupreme judges, as well as collectors, in the diſtricts under their ſuperintendency; which, as hath been particularly mentioned in the * preceding volume, is ſo eaſily in their power from the authority and influence they poſſeſs. The *Britiſh* legiſlature, however, can eaſily prevent thoſe evils, by enacting that no *European* ſhall preſide in any of the inland Courts, and by fixing the native Judges in their offices for life, to be irremoveable, except only for malverſation, by the ſame ſupreme power at *Calcutta* which may appoint them.

The *Eaſt Indians* have alſo an immemorial cuſtom of deciding differences among themſelves by arbitrators mutually choſen, which cannot be too much encouraged. This, as well as the trial by Juries, might be adapted, by the *Britiſh* legiſlature, to the diſpoſitions of the people, and to the relation in which they ſtand to their preſent conquerors, without interfering with their *caſts*, or with any of their cuſtoms, civil or religious; and might with equal eaſe be promulgated throughout the conquered provinces. None of the *Hindoos*, except a few of the Brahmins, know any thing of the *Samſcrit* or *Shanſcrit* language, in which their *Shaſtrŏs* are written; and few of the *Mahommedans* in *India*, except their Muftys, Kazys, and Prieſts, underſtand *Arabick*, in which the Koran is written: by which books they are reſpectively guided. An *Engliſh* Act of Parliament, confined to the beforementioned objects, and adapted to the ſituations of the *Hindoo* and *Mahommedan* natives of *Bengal*, might with little difficulty be tranſlated and printed in the *Bengal* language, which would be a method of promulgation far preferable to a *Perſian* tranſlation, as it would be proportionate to the capacities of the lower claſſes of the people, on whom the agriculture and manufactures of the country wholly depend.

For the purpoſes of theſe grand outlines of juſtice which the writer has preſumed to mention, it is not neceſſary to embarraſs the queſtion with diſquiſitions on the ancient power of the *Nazim* or the *Dewan*, which no longer ſubſiſt; with definitions of the names of the *Hindoo* or *Mahommedan* magiſtrates, and of their reſpective powers; or with details of their particular laws or uſages. Theſe

* *Conſiderations*, &c. vol. I. page 162.

might

might be ſafely left to the native Judges, of whom at leaſt fifty might be appointed with annual ſalaries, at leſs expence to Government than one *European*.

When the wiſdom of the Legiſlature ſhall no longer think it expedient or honourable for the Sovereign of *Great Britain* to appear to hold kingdoms of the acknowledged dependant creatures of the ſervants of a commercial ſociety of his own ſubjects; and when the beforementioned modes of deciſion among the natives, by Juries, Arbitrators, and Judges of their own, ſhall be thus adopted and eſtabliſhed as fundamental and immutable laws throughout the *Bengal* provinces, under an act of the *Britiſh* legiſlature, to be carried into execution by the Court of Juſtice lately eſtabliſhed; there will be an effectual ſtop put to the repetition of thoſe ſcenes of anarchy which have enabled * "*the banyans of* Engliſh *gentlemen, wherever they reſide,* "*intirely to govern the Courts of Judicature, and frequently to ſit as Judges* "*in thoſe Courts*:" and which have even furniſhed opportunities for a menial domeſtic of the Chief at a ſubordinate factory, of his own aſſumed authority, to hold Cutcherry-courts, to decide differences and inflict corporal † puniſhments at will. The natives would receive ſuch laws with infinite ſatisfaction; and as they would prove the beſt checks that can be deviſed, to guard them againſt the oppreſſion of their rulers, they would alſo make the beſt amends to thoſe natives for what they have ſuffered, by laying the ſureſt foundation for their future happineſs.

* See the Reports of the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons 1773, vol. IV. page 325.

† *Goneſham Daſs*, the *Munſhy* or *Perſian* Secretary, lately gone out with the Judges to *Bengal*, was one who had received a ſevere flagellation at ſuch a Cutcherry, by a decree of the *Khanſumah* or Butler to Mr. *Thomas Rumbold*, during the chiefſhip of that gentleman at *Patna*, upon the occaſion of a quarrel with one of the *Khanſumah*'s comrades.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

REMARKS on the WRITER's CASE; with a REFUTATION of ſuch CHARGES brought againſt him in MR. VERELST's VIEW, as are not noticed in the other Parts of this Work.

IN all attempts to perplex or miſguide the public judgment, plauſible artifice will be employed for the purpoſe of diſguiſing truth, or ſpecious fallacy uſed for evading it.

Without furniſhing a ſingle proof in ſupport of his aſſertions, Governor *Verelſt* * accuſes the author of *Conſiderations*, of having ſtudiouſly involved his work in confuſion and perplexity. Yet did the man he attacks arrange his matter under diſtinct chapters, for the ſake of preciſion, and to avoid the confuſion which is apt to ariſe from a more diffuſed mode of writing; in which the Governor, on the contrary, ſeems truly to have imitated the ſcuttle-fiſh, by fouling the current of argument to facilitate his eſcape. In what is called an *Introduction* to his work, Mr. *Verelſt*, and his aſſiſtants, have jumbled together the different tranſactions of very diſtant periods in one unconnected maſs. By ſo doing, like cunning Sophiſts, they endeavour to ſteal from facts into a cloud of vague declamation, and then confidently lay the fault of confuſion at the door of their antagoniſt. But this is a ſubject which it is unneceſſary to enlarge upon, becauſe there can be no intelligent and impartial reader of both books who will not laugh at ſuch accuſations. It will be happy for our Governor, if the reader as readily acquit him of the charges which, by his publication, he has now drawn expreſly upon himſelf.

He aſks, † "ſhould a diſcontented man collect facts for the pur-
" poſe of miſrepreſentation? Should many circumſtances be ſup-
" preſſed to give falſe colouring to others? Should a work of this
" kind be given to the world, when many perſons concerned in
" theſe tranſactions are at the diſtance of half the globe; and when
" many now in *England*, not conſcious of miſconduct, had ne-

* *Verelſt*'s View, page 2.
† Ibid. pages 21 and 22.

" glected

" glected to preſerve authentic vouchers, reſpecting *ordinary occur-*
" *rences*, amidſt an infinite multiplicity of affairs? It will not be
" expected that I ſhould follow ſuch a writer through all his *filth*,
" *induſtriouſly collected*."

To theſe queſtions it may be juſtly replied, that it is highly abſurd to accuſe a man of collecting *facts* for the purpoſe of *miſrepreſentation*. Nor leſs ridiculous and diſingenuous is the charge of ſuppreſſing *many* circumſtances, to give a falſe colouring to *others*, without inſtancing one ſo ſuppreſſed; while Mr. *Vereſt* appears, in no reſpect, deſtitute of matter, good or bad, falſe or true, for endeavouring to blacken his opponent.

But it may be aſked, did Mr. *Vereſt*, or any of the Select Committee or Council, return to *England* without being fairly warned of public accuſations to be made by their accuſer, even given to them in his own hand-writing? Certainly not, as hath been ſhewn by numerous documents. Why then ſo unprovided of means for vindicating their public conduct, in a matter ſo very important as the adminiſtration of juſtice?

Equally void of foundation is Mr. *Vereſt*'s allegation, that many of the perſons concerned in thoſe tranſactions were at the diſtance of half the globe; for it is ſcarce poſſible to conceive, that circumſtances could have combined more opportunely, to collect a greater number of thoſe gentlemen together from ſo diſtant a country, at one period, than have actually been on the ſpot, in *England*, both at the time of the publication of *Conſiderations on* India *Affairs*, and ſince.—Three reſpective Preſidents, the whole Select Committee, the whole of the Councils, except one or two members of no conſequence, together with their numerous tribes of dependant creatures, and others, all more or leſs acquainted with the tranſactions in queſtion, to the amount of near forty men, whom we could name, were to be found in *Great Britain* in the years 1772 and 1773.—Nay we will go further, and defy Mr. *Vereſt* to inſtance one fact poſitively aſſerted by the author of *Conſiderations*, the veracity of which could not be fully aſcertained by *vivâ voce*, or written evidence, in *England*, during the before-mentioned periods.

With reſpect to ſuppreſſions, artfully intended to miſlead the public, the author of thoſe *Conſiderations* can only ſolemnly aſſure the reader, that he is totally innocent of any wilful ſuppreſſion of truth. Where he has not given whole letters or proceedings at length, it was becauſe he could not obtain them. The moſt trivial information was always induſtriouſly with-held from him both in

India

India and in *England*; although, as hath been mentioned in another place, Mr. *Verelſt*, and the gentlemen whom he employed to write his book, were allowed free acceſs to the Company's records in the *India-houſe* for their aſſiſtance. Nay, even after the publication of Mr. *Verelſt*'s VIEW, frequent applications were made, by the *Eaſt India* Directors to General *Burgoyne*, Chairman of the Select Committee of the Houſe of Commons, to exclude the writer from the Committee-room, in order to debar him from obtaining that information to which other perſons were admitted, in which he was much intereſted, and to which every man had a right, on ſo public an inquiry. Such materials, however, as he did poſſeſs, he arranged in the beſt manner he could; and conſidering the difficulties which he laboured under, the ſurprize rather ſhould be, that he acquired ſo many. With better materials, could he have obtained them, his detection of the groſs impoſitions on the *Eaſt India* Proprietors, and the nation, might have been rendered more compleat. But all he now contends for, is the truth of the facts produced, and the juſtneſs of the concluſions drawn from them.

Mr. *Verelſt*'s * charge of the writer's making falſe quotations is, in one inſtance, grounded on a ſuppoſition of his having wilfully ſuppreſſed a ſentence, in order to interpret the letter from the Court of Directors of the 19th *February* 1766, forbidding the general trade in ſalt, beetlenut, and tobacco, as a prohibition of the monopoly eſtabliſhed by Lord *Clive*, which not being then known in *England*, conſequently could not be condemned.

But the reader who conſiders the † paſſage referred to, and adverts to facts, will probably think this a mere cavil upon words. It hath been ſhewn, that in the year 1764, Lord *Clive* repreſented to the *Eaſt India* Directors and Proprietors, that one of the great cauſes of the untoward ſtate of their affairs in *Bengal*, was the Company's ſervants and others *uſurping from the natives* the inland-trade in ſalt, beetlenut, and tobacco; *and he therefore adviſed the prevention of it in future*. This bait being very readily ſwallowed, his Lordſhip, with the Select Committee appointed under him, were directed to reform that abuſe. What the Directors meant to prevent was evidently the *Engliſh* trading in thoſe articles, under what they called a "*forced conſtruction of the Firmaun*," duty-free, in prejudice of the natives. But no ſooner was his Lordſhip em-

* View of *Bengal*, &c. pages 8 and 9.
† *Conſiderations*, &c. vol. I. page 180.

barked for *India*, than he formed the plan of an univerſal monopoly in thoſe articles, to the total excluſion of the natives; which was afterwards carried into execution by the Committee, chiefly to their own emolument, ſo early, that there was full time for any man, who had not acceſs to their records, to conclude the Directors might have been informed of it before the 19th of *February* 1766.

Lord *Clive* could carry no orders out, relative to this trade, but what were in favour of freedom; and no regulations in favour of *Europeans* could be intended, to the prejudice of the *Aſiatics*, becauſe it was in particular alleged, that they were deſigned to be made eaſy in thoſe matters. Whether, therefore, the Directors were informed of the monopoly erected in the beginning of the year 1765, by Lord *Clive* and his Committee, as they ought to have been, or not, when they wrote the letter under conſideration, is entirely immaterial, it being certain, they meant that their orders ſhould be conſidered as general; for they no ſooner did hear of the eſtabliſhment of that monopoly, than they gave poſitive orders for its abolition, and in every ſubſequent letter repeated them. Had the wonderful worthies of *Calcutta* thought themſelves ever really authorized to eſtabliſh ſuch a monopoly for their own benefit, would they have deemed it neceſſary to bind one another, by a penalty-bond, of three hundred thouſand pounds, to an union, in reſiſting any orders of the Directors for putting an immediate end to the buſineſs?

Another happy inſtance of the writer's want of candour, according to Mr. *Verelſt*, is, that he has miſ-quoted a paſſage from Mr. *Scrafton*. Hardly driven indeed, for matter to condemn, muſt be the critic who undertakes to cenſure a writer on affairs of great importance, when he turns ſo wretched a word-catcher, as to cavil * twice at a quotation, in which the expreſſion was only varied to give it force; without, in any degree, altering the ſenſe. Nay, the author of *Conſiderations*, &c. could not mean to give it merely as a quotation, becauſe he actually incorporated the words as a part of his own ſentence, and referred to the original writer for authority of the fact, which he had fairly repreſented. We produce theſe inſtances of captious cavil, out of a great number that might be

* *Verelſt*'s View, pages 15 and 18. Mr. *Scrafton*'s words are, "All our affairs being "ſo happily circumſtanced, Colonel *Clive*, at the Subah's requeſt, marched to puniſh "thoſe Rajahs *who had joined the Shahzadah*."—The author of *Conſiderations* (page 25.) has ſaid, "*who had dared to join*," &c.

exhibited

exhibited of equal inſignificance, to ſhew the ſpirit of Mr. *Verelſt*, and his aſſiſtant writers; and ſhall forbear diſguſting the reader with any further obſervations of ſo trivial and ridiculous a nature.

Mr. *Verelſt* * repeatedly lays a ſtreſs on the writer's having aſſured the Select Committee, that he did not intend to enter into any new inland-concerns in trade, or to proſecute any but ſuch as he had been then ſome time engaged in; and alſo upon his not having voluntarily departed for *Europe*.

Enough has been already ſaid in pages 62, *&c.* to explain the nature and cauſe of that aſſurance; but it is not leſs ridiculous to reproach the writer for not having carried his intentions, with reſpect to his own private buſineſs, into execution, than it is ungenerous in Mr. *Verelſt*, and his Council, to upbraid him with not having departed for *Europe*, when they did every thing in their power to render that ſtep equally imprudent and impracticable for him.—— By their ſudden ſeizure of the *Armenian* merchants, who acted as his agents, and continuing them impriſoned from *March* to *Auguſt* 1768, he was not only deprived of the benefit of his old contracts, for which he had paid the Princes of the country large ſums of money, and of his property in effects and outſtanding debts, to the amount, all-together, of full fifteen thouſand pounds, but he was thereby laid under a neceſſity of continuing in *Bengal*, to adjuſt his numerous and intricate accounts, depending with the natives of the upper provinces, and to pay ſuch as had demands upon him; from doing of which his *Armenian* agents had been arbitrarily prevented. This kind of juſtice was formerly deemed by the *Eaſt India* Directors an object of ſuch importance, that it was made an expreſs article in the covenants of perſons licenſed by them to go to *India*, and has likewiſe been continued in all the modern † covenants, that they ſhould not leave the Company's ſettlements before they had faithfully paid all ſuch ſums as they might be juſtly indebted to the black merchants, or to any other foreigners, or merchants, not being his Majeſty's ſubjects.

In the third chapter, it has been frequently ſhewn, that when the Governor and Council were ſo very urgent for the writer's departure to *Europe*, he made repeated repreſentations to them of the ſtate of his outſtanding concerns, and of the property of other per-

* *Verelſt*'s View, pages 34 and 41.

† See theſe covenants, Reports of the Houſe of Commons, vol. III. pages 176 to 183.

ſons then under his management; but they refuſed to interfere, either in the ſecuring, or the remitting to *Europe* of any part thereof: and the truth is, that the writer did enter into no new inland-concerns in trade, but ſuch as were requiſite for that ſecurity and remittance.

What Mr. *Verelſt* ſays of the * timidity of the public officers, and the incapacity of *the country-government*, for checking the oppreſſions committed by thoſe who took upon them the character of *Engliſh* agents, is extremely ridiculous, becauſe it is well known, they could make their dependant native-government do whatever they ordered, either with reſpect to the puniſhing, or the protecting of ſuch agents. But it is worſe than abſurd, to affect ſuppoſing, that thoſe who had no protection from the Company in their trade, and whom their principal ſervants ſought to hinder from trading at all, would dare to inſult a foreign power, which could cruſh them in a moment; or that ſuch perſons could carry on any trade with cheating ſuch a government of its duties, and inſulting its officers; or otherwiſe than by every ſpecies of licit conduct, and the moſt reſpectful behaviour.

We know of no diſcrimination that need be made between the *Engliſh* agent and the native, in the proſecution of a fair trade, nor was any ſuch impolitic diſtinction attempted under the government of the Moguls, or even during the adminiſtrations of any of the uſurping Nabobs of *Bengal*; though, during the latter, there were violences often practiſed alike towards natives and foreigners. But trade, honeſtly proſecuted, can never be on too free a footing; for thoſe who ſupply imports on the cheapeſt terms, and pay moſt for exports, are the beſt dealers for any country. The only kinds of dealings that are contrary to the ſound principles of policy and commerce, are MONOPOLIES; which, in the *Bengal* provinces, as indeed in all other parts of *India* where the *Engliſh* power prevails, can alone be practiſed by the ſuperior ſervants of the Company. The true motive, therefore, of the anxiety of the Preſident and Select Committee in 1765, for removing *Europeans* from the interior country was, to have the field clear for their own monopolies, or ſuch ſort of dealings as made it their intereſt to remove all checks, while the propriety of the meaſure was pretended to be founded on the neceſſity of complying with the orders of the Directors, whom, upon other occaſions, they obeyed, or diſobeyed, as they thought

* *Verelſt*'s View, page 30.

proper.

proper. There is no doubt but complaints againſt ſome *European* agents might be founded on truth; but why were they not properly inquired into and redreſſed; and equitable checks eſtabliſhed for the prevention of future irregularities, ſince the whole power of legiſlative and executive government reſted with the Preſident and Board at *Calcutta*?

But what will the reader think of the language which is now held on this ſubject by Mr. *Verelſt*, who, in *July* 1764, gave as his ſolemn opinion to the board, that it was highly eligible, and even political, to employ *Europeans* as agents, in preference to black gomaſtahs; and that if they were guilty of offences in the inland-country, where the *Britiſh* laws could not reach, the board had ſtill a ſufficient authority for adminiſtering juſtice by the laws of *Hindoſtan*? Certainly, general invectives on this ſubject come with a bad grace now, from a gentleman who had given ſuch an * opinion, and during whoſe government, ſoon afterwards, in *Bengal*, no enormities were *legally* proved againſt any agents or gomaſtahs, but his own.

On the ſame ſubject, nevertheleſs, Mr. *Verelſt* has the *modeſty* thus to proceed: † "The reader who will carry in his mind, the "diſtinction ariſing between the *Engliſh* agent and the native, from "the want of a controuling power over the former, will readily "conceive, the nature of that *fair*, *open*, and *unreſtrained* trade, in "favour of which Mr. *Bolts* ſo vehemently declaims; and alſo of "thoſe numberleſs oppreſſions, groaning under which, Mr. *Bolts* "accumulated, *in the ſpace of ſix years*, a larger fortune than many "gentlemen, who have reſided twenty years in *India*, and filled "the higheſt ſtations in the Company's ſervice." And in a note to illuſtrate this text, he further ſays, "Mr. *Bolts* arrived in *Bengal* "in the ſummer of the year 1760, and reſigned the Company's "ſervice in *November* 1766; during which time he was only a "junior ſervant, and far below the rank of Council in the Preſi-"dency."

The charge here intended to be brought, if any thing be really meant, muſt be, that the writer got his fortune diſhoneſtly, and by oppreſſion. How far he deſerves injurious reflections for aſſerting the rights of licit trade and commerce, he freely leaves to the determination of the candid reader, while he proceeds to anſwer

* Appendix A. Num. IX. page 25.
† *Verelſt*'s View, page 30.

this

this implied charge, with as little poſſible egotiſm as the nature of the caſe will admit.

The facts on which his anſwer is founded may be all collected from the preceding ſheets. It is true, that the writer acquired a fortune of upwards of ninety thouſand pounds ſterling during his reſidence in *India*, as his books, now in the poſſeſſion of his aſſignees, clearly evince; but as he went out to *India* in the year 1759, and was forcibly ſent away from *Bengal* on the 23d *September* 1768, Mr. *Verelſt* ſhould have given him credit for eight inſtead of ſix years induſtry, even after allowing for the time loſt at ſea. Beſides the fortunate circumſtances attending the writer's ſituation upon his firſt introduction into *India*, which have been deſcribed in the ninth and tenth pages of this volume, particularly his partnerſhip with two gentlemen in Council, at a period when the trade of *Bengal*, and over all *India*, was very lucrative; the writer had alſo very extenſive joint-dealings with moſt of the * ſervants of the Company, who were then in the higheſt ſtations: from all which he not only reaped conſiderable emolument, but eſtabliſhed a great credit among the native merchants. A ſtrenuous exertion of induſtry, with the concurrence of circumſtances ſo much in his favour, might naturally be expected to advance the writer's fortune very faſt: though it was not in a degree altogether ſo extraordinary as not to be paralleled by many examples in this country, or any other.—With reſpect to the very low ſtation, or rank, in the ſervice of the Company, aſſigned to him by Mr. *Verelſt*, although neither merit or demerit can be derived from ſuch an accidental circumſtance, a reference to the liſt of covenanted ſervants in the † Appendix, will ſhew the reader what foundation that gentleman had for his inſinuation on this head.

But after quitting the ſubject of the writer's acquiſitions in point of fortune, at page 31, Mr. *Verelſt* once more reſumes it, in page 38, in the following *candid* manner:

" Mr. *Bolts* arrived in *India* in the year 1760, and we ſoon find " him a principal figure amidſt the *groupe of traders*. The extent " to which this gentleman engaged, and the moderation with " which he conducted himſelf, will be beſt known from his for- " tune of ninety thouſand pounds, gained *within ſix* years; toge-

* Mr. *John Cartier*, Mr. *Thomas Rumbold*, Mr. *Charles Stafford Playdell*, Mr. *Samuel Middleton*, Mr. *Aſcanius William Senior*, and many others.

† Appendix A. page 49.

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"ther with the extreme eagerneſs with which he endeavoured, "upon all occaſions, to degrade the authority of the government, "and prevent any effectual protection being given to the * natives."

In the caſes of *Gocul Sonar* and *Ramnaut Daſs*, inſerted in the preceding chapter, it hath been fully ſhewn who were the men to *prevent any effectual protection being given to the natives*. It hath been likewiſe ſhewn, that the writer's trade in *India* was equally beneficial to the country and to the Company; and his books, which are now acceſſible to all his creditors, among whom Mr. *Verelſt* may yet have ſome partizans, will alſo prove, that his fortune was acquired with all poſſible fairneſs: and that the medium of the net profits gained by him, in the moſt favourable times, never exceeded twenty-five *per cent. per annum*, upon the capital traded for. Theſe are facts which he chearfully leaves to the unerring teſts of time and truth, while he invites even his enemies to the ſcrutiny. Among Mr. *Verelſt*'s virtuous adherents in *India*, and in *England*, of all complexions, is there a man who can lay his finger on a fact that ſhall impeach the writer's honour, or integrity, as a merchant, or a Company's ſervant; as a judge, or a private member of ſociety?—But perhaps the reader will think he has already honoured Mr. *Verelſt*'s general declamation, on theſe points, with too much notice, and that the writer's greateſt crime was the poſſeſſion of a fortune acquired by honeſt induſtry.

Upon the whole, therefore, of Mr. *Verelſt*'s implied accuſation of guilt in the ſpeedy acquiſition of a fortune by trade, againſt a man whom he and his confederates have ſo wickedly injured, without proving one † fact in ſupport of his inſinuations, it may not be thought improper to entertain the reader with a few ſtrokes of recrimination, by way of farther anſwer. The

* Nothing can be more puerile, or abſurd, than the references made on this word by Mr. *Verelſt* to corroborate his aſſertion. He refers to the writer's letter to Monſ. *Gentil*, and to the paper tranſmitted to *Johannes Padre Rafael*, which are given in the Appendix E. Num. II. page 347, and Num. XXXVIII. page 379.

† In a note, page 34, Mr. *Verelſt* indeed, as a kind of authority, quotes the writer's evidence given before a Committee of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, that he entertained 150 agents. As this may otherwiſe impreſs an idea prejudicial to the writer, it is neceſſary to explain the matter. The evidence given before the Committee (See Reports of the Houſe of Commons, vol. III. page 287.) ſtands as follows:

Q. "Who were the agents you employed in thoſe concerns you entered into after your reſignation?

A. "I had above 150; and amongſt others the two *Armenians* who have given evidence, but theſe were only employed in collecting outſtanding debts, and diſpoſing of goods and contracts which were on hand before my reſignation."

Now

The * ſelf-praiſing Select Committee of Reformers, with their aſſociates, the declared enemies of all rapid acquiſitions of wealth, commenced their righteous adminiſtration for the reformation of *Bengal* in the month of *May* 1765. Such was their aſſiduity in accompliſhing their diſintereſted views, as we find by Mr. *Verelſt*'s book, that *William Brightwell Sumner*, Eſq; who relinquiſhed his pretenſions of ſucceeding to the government, † returned to *England* in *December* 1766; ‡ Lord *Clive* and General *Carnac* in *January* 1767; § *Francis Sykes*, Eſq; the *Durbar-Reſident*, in *November* 1768; and ‖ Mr. *Verelſt*, who ſucceeded Lord *Clive*, and was not worth ſix thouſand pounds in the year 1760, reſigned the chair on the 16th *December* 1769.—Beſides theſe gentlemen, who all returned with miniſterial fortunes, Colonel *Richard Smith*, who ſucceeded General *Carnac*, ¶ requeſted leave to reſign his employments on the 7th *February* 1768, which was within leſs than three years from his return to *India*; although he did not leave *Bengal* till *December* 1769. This gentleman, notwithſtanding all the emoluments of his appointments as an officer in *India* had been reduced to ** "*the ſcanty* "*pittance of ſeven hundred pounds per annum*," had been ſo fortunate as a merchant and dealer in politics, that on his return to *England*, he was enabled, from the overplus of his abundance, to offer, in a General Court, fifty thouſand pounds as his ſubſcription towards a loan for ſaving his late conſtituents from the impending bankruptcy to which their ſucceſſes in *India* had reduced them. †† Mr. *Alex-*

Now this evidence ſhould in truth have been recorded, *I had about* 15; but the writer did not perceive the error in time for its being corrected; for although in the manner it was explained to the Committee-clerk, in the common acceptation of the word *gomaſtah*, or *agent*, including ſuperintendants at all the writer's manufactories, it might be juſtly written 150, yet it is not true, that the writer ever employed 150 head-gomaſtahs, or agents, in the ſenſe it is applied by Mr. *Verelſt*, who well knows there are not fifty places in the provinces at which ſo many head-gomaſtahs, or agents, could be advantageouſly ſtationed by any ſingle merchant. For his juſtification, the writer can only appeal to his books, now in the hands of his aſſignees, wherein it will appear, there were not, at any one period, above fifteen different places, called *Aurungs*, at which he had gomaſtahs; which was nothing extraordinary for a merchant in ſo extenſive a way of buſineſs.

* See notes, pages 24 to 27, and Appendix A. page 144.
† *Verelſt*'s Appendix, page 40.
‡ Ibid. page 47.
§ Ibid. page 87.
‖ Ibid. page 120.
¶ Reports of the Houſe of Commons, vol. III. page 292.
** See the words of Colonel *Smith*'s own letter, ibid. page 291.
†† *Verelſt*'s Appendix, page 68.

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ander Campbell, who is ſaid to have been taken from the *lofty* ſtation of a critical reviewer; who was made both aſſayer and mint-maſter for the perfection of the gold coinage; and who was afterwards promoted to the important joint-poſts of ſecretary and member of the Select Committee, for the convenient purpoſes of his pen and vote, found himſelf enabled to return to *England* ſo early as the commencement of the year 1768; Mr. *Richard Becher*, in the month of *January* 1771; and Mr. *James Alexander* in *February* 1772. So, likewiſe, of the four gentlemen who came from *Madraſs* in the month of * *February* 1766, for the ſame purpoſes of reforming *Calcutta*, and getting money ſlowly, Mr. *Claud Ruſſell* and Mr. *Thomas Kelſall* left *Bengal* in *December* 1771, and Mr. *Charles Floyer* in *February* 1772.

The candid reader will, therefore, readily admit that, in compariſon with the few gentlemen whom we have enumerated, the writer moved like a mere ſluggard in the acquiſition of riches. But if to have acquired a fortune honeſtly was his only crime, he has been effectually puniſhed for that alſo, ſince in conſequence of the oppreſſions of the Preſidency of *Calcutta*, during the adminiſtration of the before-mentioned gentlemen, he now ſees himſelf without any fortune at all.

But Mr. *Verelſt* alleges, that † the writer was a "great leader of "ſedition; and *no ſooner* was *Ramnaut* ‡ proved to have committed "more than ordinary violence, than he became this gentleman's "agent, confidant, and friend."

It has been already ſhewn, that the writer only attempted to aſſiſt that oppreſſed man, by putting him in a way to obtain juſtice; and Mr. *Verelſt* himſelf acknowledges, that § "to prefer "a criminal charge to the proper Judges, is the legal right, nay "the duty of each individual citizen."——As to *ſedition*, he ſtood ſingle, and unſupported, to oppoſe the torrent of injuries that was poured forth to overwhelm him. During all his diſputes with the Preſident and Council at *Calcutta*, he never aſked the aſſiſtance or the ſuffrage of any man; and he defies Mr. *Verelſt* to give a ſingle

* They took their ſeats at the board in *Calcutta* on the 12th *February* 1766.

† *Verelſt*'s View, *&c.* page 31.

‡ Theſe pretended proofs were the private allegations of the Preſident and Select Committee in 1765; and the writer did not attempt to aſſiſt that injured man in obtaining juſtice before *April* 1768.

§ *Verelſt*'s View, *&c.* page 13.

proof of his ever having attempted to biaſs any man's judgment or to influence his actions. His *ſedition*, therefore, was confined within the compaſs of his own breaſt.

Mr. *Verelſt* and his Council, apprized of the futility of all their other charges againſt this *low ſervant* of the Company's, ſuddenly make him a man of great conſequence, and at laſt have recourſe to the ſtale trick of aſcribing to him dangerous deſigns againſt the ſtate; although his proſperity and fortune were more dependent upon the welfare of the Company and the tranquil poſſeſſion of their acquiſitions than thoſe of any other man then under their government in *Bengal*.—He had * "*by his intrigues endangered the peace of* India."—Aſk them upon what they ground this charge, and they will tell you he wrote a letter to a † Monſieur *Gentil*, who lived at the Court of their ally, the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*, importing that the King of *England* was going to ſend a Governor to *India*; or perhaps they will inform you, he actually furniſhed that Nabob with a ſeventy-gun ‡ ſhip, to oppoſe the Governor's landing.

In ſhort, upon a view of the whole proceedings of Preſident *Verelſt* and his Council, nothing will be found againſt the writer but the moſt ridiculous accuſations, founded only on the bare aſſertions of the very men whoſe public conduct he had openly arraigned, *but in which he never was the aggreſſor*; that thoſe charges, as hath been ſhewn, were clandeſtinely penned againſt him, and no opportunity ever given him of juſtifying his conduct; that he was even illegally removed from the office which he held for life, under the charter, of one of his Majeſty's Judges, without being ever called upon to ſhew cauſe why he ſhould not be removed; and that, without having been guilty of any crime or miſdemeanour, he was afterwards ſuddenly ſeized by a military guard, and forcibly tranſported from *Bengal* to *England*. Yet with matchleſs bronze doth Mr. *Verelſt* make the following interrogatory appeal to the Public on theſe ſubjects: § "Was Mr. *Bolts* (whoſe whole continuance in *Bengal* was one "ſcene of complaints, replies, reprimands, and contentions) tranſ-"ported unaccuſed, or unheard in his defence?"

* *Verelſt*'s View, *&c.* page 5.

† See Appendix F. page 481.

‡ This was the model of a ſhip completely rigged and equipped, of about five feet long, which the writer ſent as a curioſity to that Nabob. But as he has not yet diſcovered that the Preſident and Council have mentioned it in their public diſpatches to the *Eaſt India* Directors, he has reaſon to imagine, that this charge, being the moſt important of all, is kept in reſerve againſt him.

§ *Verelſt*'s View, *&c.* page 7.

But

But there ſtill remain a few charges that may be thought to affect the writer in his public as well as private character, of which it is neceſſary ſome notice ſhould be taken before we conclude this chapter.

In the comparative eſtimate, given in the firſt volume of *Conſiderations, &c.* page 52, of the difference of advantages between Governor *Spencer*'s and Lord *Clive*'s treaties, in 1765, the author is accuſed by Mr. *Verelſt* of having aſſumed *, as a permanent revenue, the five lacks per month received from the Nabob *Najim al Dowlah*, which, he ſays, by the terms of the treaty, were to be paid during the war with *Sujah al Dowlah* only. Mr. *Verelſt* will not ſeriouſly argue upon the ſacred obſervance of treaties made by the *Eaſt India* Company; nor will he give us an inſtance of money that was once ſtipulated for, ever being relinquiſhed by them or their ſervants. The writer, however, did not aſſume that *poſtulatum* without good grounds; for it was the irreſiſtible determination of the Preſident and Council to convert that temporary aſſignment, of five lacks *per* month, into a † perpetuity.

Neither was the author of *Conſiderations* wrong in eſtimating the Zemindary of the Rajah *Bulwantſing* at *forty-five* lacks *per annum*, as ſubſequent events have fully evinced; although Lord *Clive* was pleaſed, of his own mere motion, to let the Rajah hold it at *twenty lacks*, for the laſt year of it's being retained for the Company.—But, ſays Mr. *Verelſt*, ‡ "if this revenue was ſo extremely improveable, "why did not Mr. *Bolts*, a Company's ſervant, reſident upon the "ſpot, one intruſted with the management, intimate his opinion to "the Council?"—The writer's anſwer is extremely eaſy: although ſecond in Council at *Banáras*, he was never conſulted on the ſubject; while the country which had but juſt been taken, under a *ſolemn treaty*, in perpetuity for the Company, was as unexpectedly as ſuddenly given up by Lord *Clive*, and all the new ſtipulations finally executed with the utmoſt ſecrecy, before he knew a word of the matter, and before he had an opportunity of giving the Council any ſuch intimations.

In the ſame page (21) Mr. *Verelſt* farther ſays on this ſubject—"The eſtimate of Mr. *Bolts* is mentioned merely for the purpoſe of

* *Verelſt*'s View, *&c.* page 20.

† See the evidence of *Ralph Leyceſter*, Eſq; one of the Deputies who concluded the *treaty* with the Nabob *Najim al Dowlah*, Reports of the Houſe of Commons, vol. III. page 305.

‡ *Verelſt*'s View, *&c.* page 21.

" ſhewing his diſpoſition to miſlead. The ſituation of the Zemin-
" dary of *Bulwantſing* would have made it a burthen, and not an
" advantage to the Company, as the reader will fully underſtand
" in his further progreſs."—Nevertheleſs, the Company were of an opinion ſo very different from Mr. *Verelſt*, that in their * general letter to their Preſidency at *Bengal*, of the 10th *April* 1771, the Directors appeared extremely ſolicitous to regain the territories of *Bulwantſing*, in exchange for the provinces of *Korah* and *Illahabad*, then held for the King; eſteeming the political intereſts of the Company to be deeply intereſted in that event.

We will not follow Mr. *Verelſt* in his attempt at wit, on the ſubject of *ſudden tranſportation*, where he deſcribes the † Governor of *Calcutta* as a rich tyrant without ſubjects; having *tranſported* all the inhabitants, and then bought their houſes: becauſe to ſhew attention to ſuch matter, when employed to elude ſolid arguments on the moſt momentous concerns of mankind, would be equally to merit the reader's contempt. But among the many imputations which the writer is ſaid to have ‡ conveyed by the help of *Italicks* and large LETTERS, that concerning the ſudden deaths of the Nabobs requires ſome notice.

Mr. *Verelſt* ſays, " If *Italicks* mean any thing, thoſe Nabobs who
" died *ſuddenly* had their departure haſtened by management."—The writer confeſſes that he did expreſsly mean to convey that idea, which, with reſpect to the Nabob *Najim al Dowlah*, was not only univerſal among the natives of the country, but had likewiſe reached the Court of ‖ Directors. MUNNY BEGUM, the widow of the late Nabob *Meer Jaffier Ally Khawn*, who perhaps was as well verſed in the intrigues of *Durbars* and *Seraglios* as Mr. *Verelſt*, *although his political banyan was at the head of the Caſt-cutcherry*, did herſelf alſo entertain ſtrong ſuſpicions on the ſame ſubject with reſpect to her children; as may be partly ſeen from her written § complaint to the Board of Revenue at the city.

* See parag. 47. Appendix A. page 257.
† *Verelſt*'s View, *&c.* page 9.
‡ Ibid. page 10.
‖ See the 11th paragraph of their letter of the 16th *March* 1768, Appendix A. Num. XXXVI. page 177.
§ See her complaint to the Board of Revenue at *Murſhedabad*; wherein, although a *Mahommedan*, in the anguiſh of her mind, ſhe ſwears by our Saviour JESUS CHRIST that ſhe would leave *Murſhedabad* to go to the Committee. Appendix A. Num. XLVIII. page 245.

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The deceptive *Muſnud* of *Murſhedabad*, circumſcribed and inſignificant as it had been rendered, from * "the penetrating inſpections "that had been made by LORD CLIVE and MR. SYKES" for the † "*unfledged Sovereigns*" who were placed in it, ſtill afforded extenſive proſpects, with a variety of objects that might exerciſe the low ambition and avarice of ſuch men as were ſtationed to ſupport the deception. It is true, that the ſecret ſprings of ſuch acquiſitions as have been lately made at the *Durbar* can only be effectually traced in *Bengal*, and therefore have *not yet* been rendered quite perceptible to the public eye in this country. But the enormous fortunes which have been ſuddenly amaſſed there fully demonſtrate the immenſity of the advantages which ſtill ſurrounded the *Muſnud*; notwithſtanding our author is pleaſed to aſſert, ‡ "it was impoſſible, conſiſtently "with truth, to ſuggeſt a motive for the perpetration of ſo horrid "a crime."

Unfortunately, no imputation can be conveyed, either in ſmall or large letters; but if, in looking round, it be not directly applicable to himſelf, Mr. *Verelſt* immediately ſuſpects his intimates to be aimed at. On the ſubject of theſe ſudden deaths he ſays, ‖ "Leſt "the *Italics* ſhould eſcape the reader's attention, or as he might not "know againſt whom the inſinuation was directed, LORD CLIVE "and MR. SYKES, in large letters, catch the eye."

Mr. *Verelſt*, who can ſpeak experimentally on the ſovereign worth of riches; who knows, as a celebrated author expreſſes himſelf, that they § "always procure protection for themſelves, dazzle the eyes "of inquiry, divert the celerity of purſuit, and appeaſe the ferocity "of vengeance;" muſt acknowledge, that for the eminency of their wealth, ſuddenly acquired, none deſerve to be diſtinguiſhed in more conſpicuous characters than the gentlemen whom the writer hath mentioned. But it is not neceſſary to the ſubject of this chapter to

* *Vide Conſiderations, &c.* vol. I. page 47.

† *Dow's Hindoſtan*, vol. III. page 89. "The Princes whom we raiſed in *Bengal* va-"niſhed imperceptibly from their thrones. Light and unſubſtantial as the ſhew of power, "with which, as in deriſion, we inveſted them, they diſappeared, like *Romulus*, but "without a ſtorm. The benefits derived from former revolutions *created a love of change*; "and the Angel of Death, *if not our friend, was very opportune in his frequent viſits to "the* Muſnud. *In the courſe of five years three Nabobs expired*; and the unfledged So-"vereign, who acceded to the nominal government of *Bengal* on the—*March* of 1770, "has already enjoyed, *conſidering the times*, a long reign. Nabobs, to own the truth, are "uſeleſs; *and they are diſmiſſed to their fathers without either ceremony or noiſe*."

‡ *Verelſt's* View, *&c.* page 11.

‖ Ibid. page 10.

§ Rambler, vol. III. page 139.

enter

enter upon the diſcuſſion of thoſe honourable ſervices to which Mr. *Verelſt* alludes in the ſame * page. According to that gentleman's ideas of moral propriety, ſuch actions as prove ſucceſsful and lucrative muſt, of courſe, be honourable. Yet, however we may differ from our author, in characterizing, by very opponent epithets, ſuch ſervices as enabled a traiterous commander of a body of horſe to dethrone, plunder, and murder his Prince, Mr. *Verelſt* has made it neceſſary for the writer to acknowledge, in juſtice to the noble Lord and his *Durbar* Reſident, that he did not mean to convey an imputation againſt any *European* whomſoever, for the *ſudden deaths* alluded to in the firſt part of *Conſiderations*.

Not contented with injuriouſly endeavouring to bring upon the writer, the unmerited enmity of two ſuch great men as Lord *Clive* and Mr. *Sykes*, Mr. *Verelſt* thus farther attempts to entangle him in a dilemma on this ſubject. † "By concealing," ſays he, "his "ſuſpicion during his reſidence in *Bengal*, ſubſequent to 1766, *he* "*incurs the guilt of an accomplice*, whether the fact be TRUE or "FALSE. If he entertained *no ſuſpicion*, let the reader give a name "to his preſent attempt."

We will allow, that Mr. *Verelſt* has made a great progreſs in academical ſtudies ſince his return from *Bengal*; yet, without the low ſophiſtry of a collegian, this ingenious dilemma might be reſolved by aſſerting, in plain *Engliſh*, that had the writer publiſhed ſuch ſuſpicion during his reſidence in *Bengal*, SUBSEQUENT TO 1766, he himſelf would have been diſpatched to the Nabob. But although the practice of the period alluded to may be juſtly thought to give colour to ſuch an aſſertion, yet, notwithſtanding all former appearances and ſuſpicions, out of deference to the very reſpectable authorities that have eſtabliſhed the fact, the writer muſt now acknowledge, that the Nabob *Najim al Dowlah* died of a fever in his ‡ noſe.

After enumerating various other crimes, which never exiſted, except in the brain of Mr. *Verelſt*, when intoxicated with power and flattery, or diſordered by the weight of a government, to which

* *Verelſt*'s View, *&c.* page 10.

† Ibid. page 11.

‡ See the Reports of the Houſe of Commons, vol. III. page 325.——"And your "Committee find, by a letter from Mr. *Sykes*, to the Council at *Fort William*, dated "8th *May* 1766, that the Nabob died that day;——and by a letter from Lord *Clive* "and General *Carnac*, to the Council, of the 9th *May* 1766——that he died of that "ſort of fever that affecteth the noſe, and is generally ſuppoſed incurable."

he

he was unequal, he thus proceeds in his charges againſt the writer. * " Nay, in an information delivered at the Quarter Seſſions at " *Calcutta*, upon oath, he there denominates himſelf a *loyal ſub-* " *ject* of *Great Britain*. Yet, when he is called upon, by the " *Engliſh Eaſt India* Company, to anſwer for an interference with " their excluſive trade in *India*, their zealous and devoted ſervant is " not aſhamed to plead, that, as an *alien*, he is not the object of " thoſe laws made for the protection and ſecurity of that Company " in whoſe ſervice he went firſt to *India*."

The nature of this plea of alienage, and the infamy of the proſecution which made it expedient, have been fully explained and expoſed in pages 135 to 139. Although the writer never pretended to be a *natural-born* ſubject of *Great Britain*, he will inſiſt, that during his temporary allegiance, he ever acted as a *loyal ſubject*, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the words. There is, conſequently, no ſuch contradiction in this tranſaction as Mr. *Vereliſt* would inſidiouſly infer; but, on the contrary, his having brought his complaint before the Quarter Seſſions, as a *Britiſh* ſubject, ſhould reflect the greateſt honour on him in the eyes of every impartial man. It was meeting Preſident *Vereliſt* and his Council upon their own ſtrongeſt ground, when, by availing himſelf of his natural and unalienable birth-right, he might, in the firſt inſtance, have eluded all the chicane with which the charters and acts of parliament in favour of the Company, together with their own bye-laws, have, from their intricacy, abſurdity, and repugnancy to other conſtitutional acts, hitherto enabled the Directors to baffle juſtice for any given number of years, when they find it convenient to ſupport the iniquities of their ſervants in *India*. If, contrary to the laws of nations, the Governor and Council had not choſen to admit of the writer's reſidence in *Calcutta*, upon the ſame footing as other aliens, or denizens, yet, at any of the foreign ſettlements near *Calcutta*, he could have been received with open arms and honours, have evaded all the regulations made by them for the government of their own ſervants and dependants, and have ſet their malice at defiance.

But by the ſame deſtructive influence which, to the misfortune of the *Eaſt India* Proprietors, and of the nation, has *miſdirected* the affairs of the Company for theſe ten years paſt; unfortunately alſo for the writer, every tranſaction in which he has been concerned,

* *Vereliſt*'s View, &c. page 34.

however

however free from guilt, has been perpetually misrepresented. He has been blamed for actions which merited praise; and even the course of justice has been stopped, or perverted, for the sake of oppressing him; while every offer of such services to his late employers, as his small abilities put in his power, has been neglected, either from party-motives, or for no other reason than because such offer came from him. It was upon such principles that Mr. President *Verelst* rejected the writer's proposal of raising * fifteen thousand pounds *per annum*, clear profit, to the Company in *Bengal*, in the saltpetre trade, a branch which he the President had preferred making over to General *Smith* and Mr. *Claud Russell*. And, upon the same principle, have the *East India* Directors neglected to adopt the printing of the † *Bengal* language, a scheme that would have been of the utmost utility and profit in the revenue-department, and the only possible means of rendering a whole nation happy, by making them effectually acquainted with the new laws by which they were to be governed.

Having now gone through, and exposed the futility and malice of all Mr. *Verelst*'s charges, which were meant to affect the writer's public or private character, it may not be improper to take some notice of the ‡ climax of defamation with which that gentleman finishes his introductory chapter.

" The Governor and Council were indeed criminal. It was cri-
" minal, for a moment, to suffer the residence of a man, who, in-
" dependent of other demerits, had corresponded with every rival,
" and every enemy of the Company; who had engaged with Mr.
" *Vernet*, the *Dutch* Governor, to monopolize the cloth-trade of
" *Dacca*; who had scandalously evaded the execution of covenants,
" which, as a servant of the Company, he was bound to subscribe;
" who had attempted one, and actually succeeded in seducing ano-
" ther, inferior servant, to betray his trust, in delivering papers
" out of the office; who had, from his first arrival in *India*, car-
" ried on a trade destructive to the peace of the country; who, in
" support of this trade, had threatened the officers of the Nabob,
" and had issued his proclamation in the style of a Sovereign; whose
" agents, by their intrigues in the dominions of *Sujah al Dowlah*,

* Appendix E. Num. XXXII. page 375.

† Ibid. A. Num. LVIII. page 285; containing a specimen of the *Bengal* alphabet in the writer's new projected types.

‡ *Verelst*'s View, *&c.* pages 41 and 42.

and

" and by falſe intelligence received from their *maſter*, had endan-
" gered the peace of *India*."

As every one of the formidable accuſations contained in this towering pyramid of exaggeration, ſo ornamented with exclamatory and declamatory flouriſhes, have been fully diſproved, it will be thought ſufficient, in this place, to declare them all to be infamouſly groundleſs and ſcandalous. Such general, vague accuſations, therefore, without proof of guilt or injury, can only be conſidered as the impotent efforts of malice, to palliate the many groſs acts of injuſtice and oppreſſion which have been practiſed towards the writer.

This laboured ſection is thus concluded by Mr. *Verelſt*'s writers: " To ſuffer ſuch a man in *Bengal*, was ſurely criminal. But if " ſuits are now commenced in our Courts of Law, if petitions are " preſented to the Houſe of Commons, and unwarrantable preju-" dices are induſtriouſly fomented, what might we expect, had " ample juſtice been done to the Company and to the nation?"

In anſwer to this bold appeal to public judgment in a matter of much moment, it may be ſaid, that if it was criminal in the Governor and Council to ſuffer ſuch a man as *Bolts* in *Bengal*, any guilt in them could only ariſe from notorious criminality in him. Why then was not that criminality judicially proved upon him in *Calcutta*, where there were competent Courts for that purpoſe, in which the all-powerful Preſident *Verelſt*, and his Council, would themſelves have ſat in judgment? It was a duty they owed, to juſtice; to their country; to their employers, and to themſelves.—That they did it not, was becauſe they knew him to be guiltleſs, and that to have given even the ſhadow of juſtice to their conduct towards him, they muſt have continued the practice of the Select and Secret Committee, have become themſelves the accuſers and the judges, or have even counterfeited or forged facts, and then ſuborned or impriſoned witneſſes for evidence, to ſubſtantiate the charges of their own creation.

Had the moſt ample juſtice been done to the Company and to the nation, either in *Bengal* or in *England*, government would not have been obliged to relinquiſh the 400,000 l. annual *huſh-money*, nor to lend the Company a million and a half, to ſave them from a ſtate of bankruptcy, to which they had been reduced by the very men who have now the confidence to inſult their injured country with public vaunts of their able and faithful ſervices; and who, to

the reproach of national juſtice, have hitherto been ſuffered to continue unmoleſted in poſſeſſion of their enormous ſpoil.

To the laſt paragraph contained in Mr. *Verelſt*'s introduction it will ſuffice to reply, that nothing can be more evident than, from the facts which we have verified, that all abuſes in the *Bengal* provinces, committed by unprotected people, could have been readily, effectually, and legally reſtrained, or puniſhed; that, therefore, it is not to ſuch perſons that the ruinous ſtate of thoſe countries, or of the Company, could poſſibly be owing, but to the exceſſive abuſes of men in power, and of thoſe protected by them; with, at beſt, the groſs ignorance, if not colluſive connivance, of ſome leading Directors in *England*.—The public clearly ſee who have ſuddenly amaſſed immenſe wealth; and they have lately obtained new lights into the means by which it was acquired. They likewiſe behold the preſent ſtate of the Company: againſt the evidence of which facts, all the powers of miſrepreſentation muſt and will continue to be fruitleſsly exerted.

Under ſuch perſecutions as the writer laboured, and with ſuch grounds for complaint, when the Court of Directors had not only refuſed him common juſtice, on the frequent applications he made to them, but even proceeded ſo far as daringly to render ineffectual the ſolemn decree of their Sovereign, by partially with-holding from him the invariably-uſed means for ſubſiſting in the office of Alderman, to which he had been judicially reſtored; and while they exerted every engine of oppreſſion to injure him in reputation and fortune; what could remain to be done by him, or by others, in oppreſſed ſituations from the ſame abuſed powers, but what they did:—to appeal to the juſtice, to the power, and to the underſtanding of this nation?—What the reſult of their ſo doing has hitherto proved, Mr. *Verelſt* exultingly feels, ſince, even parliamentary inquiries have neither ſerved to criminate the complainants, to exculpate the accuſed, or to procure remedies to the evils complained of. And although ſuch oppreſſions, as are a diſgrace to the nation, have been proved to have been ſuffered in *Hindoſtan*, from the exceſſes of deſpotiſm and rapine, practiſed by the ruling ſervants of a commercial community, yet, from cauſes only to be ſurmized, have ſuch flagrant offenders, not only hitherto eſcaped needful and exemplary juſtice, but even found advocates to vindicate their conduct.

With reſpect to the writer's particular caſe, he would have been more happy, if, from the nature of the *Engliſh* laws, ſix or ſeven

years

years had been found ſufficient for obtaining legal deciſions upon the ſuits and actions which he was forced to bring againſt his oppreſſors; as then judicial proofs would have been given of the facts which he has now ſubmitted to public conſideration: to the confuſion of his enemies, the effectual vindication of his own character and conduct, and, eventually, to the doing of juſtice to his injured creditors. Yet, notwithſtanding what he has ſuffered in mind, in fortune, and in his proſpects in life, from the groſſeſt injuſtice, and the unavoidable defects and delay of the law, he is happy that, after ſeven years perſecution, he has been able to force Mr. *Vereliſt*, and his colleagues, from under the covering of their own flimſy diſguiſes, to a plain diſcuſſion of facts before the public; who can now judge fairly of the conteſt of falſhood againſt truth, between that gentleman and the writer.—He means not by any thing he hath related, to addreſs the paſſions of his readers.—If the peruſal of theſe ſheets ſhould conduce to animate thoſe who have it in their power, to vindicate the injured reputation of *Great Britain*; and, diveſted of all national and party prejudices, to procure the eſtabliſhment of ſuch legal checks upon deſpotiſm in *India*, as ſhall in future ſecure the perſons and properties of their fellow-creatures, and fellow-ſubjects, in thoſe diſtant regions, effectually, from ſuſtaining ſuch wrongs as the writer hath laboured under; from which many through him have innocently ſuffered; and to which other perſons are yet equally expoſed: then will he conſider his private loſſes and injuries as the ſources of public benefits, and even think that the fruits of many years toil, in the whole of his fortune, have not been ſacrificed, from the guilt of others, in vain.

CHAP. IX.

A VINDICATION of the Author, on the Subject of the MONOPOLY of SALT, BEETLENUT, and TOBACCO; eſtabliſhed by the Right Honourable PRESIDENT and SELECT COMMITTEE of BENGAL, in the Year 1765.

HAVING written, in the firſt part of *Conſiderations on* India *Affairs*, a whole Chapter on the ſubject of the famous MONOPOLY of the trade in ſalt, beetlenut, and tobacco, eſtabliſhed contrary to the intentions, and continued in defiance of the expreſs orders of the *Eaſt India* Directors, by Lord *Clive* and the Select Committee at *Calcutta*, from the years 1765 to 1768, the writer will be cautious of troubling the public with repetitions on the ſame ſubject.—But, as Mr. *Verelſt* has likewiſe appropriated a Chapter for the purpoſes of bold denial, or entire miſrepreſentation, with expreſly impeaching the writer's veracity on this ſubject, in order to divert the public eye from ſuch acts of a monopolizing and oppreſſive government as, from the enormity of their guilt, ſtand without a precedent in the hiſtory of civilized nations, he hopes the indulgent reader will excuſe his replying thereto, as well for neceſſary detection of attempted deception, as in vindication of his character as a writer.

Mr. *Verelſt* had great advantages on this head, from having free acceſs to the Company's records. It was, therefore, fortunate for the writer, who had no ſuch aſſiſtance, that after the publication of that gentleman's book, both the Secret and Select Committees of the Honourable Houſe of Commons undertook to inveſtigate * the tranſactions of this ſalt-ſociety, and have thereby amply furniſhed him with the means of his vindication.

The author of *Conſiderations*, &c. aſſerted, † that "the extraordinary ſhares of the profits of this public monopoly, to which "the Select Committee gentlemen had helped themſelves, were

* See the 4th report of the Secret Committee. Reports, vol. IV. pages 106, *&c.* and the 4th report of the Select Committee, vol. III. pages 461 to 471.

† *Conſiderations*, &c. vol. I. page 178.

" not the only advantages they reaped from it. From the regu-
" lations which they, in their Select Committee, had previouſly
" agreed upon, they were firſt apprized of the ſudden effects which
" thoſe regulations could not fail of producing, in raiſing the price
" of ſalt all over the country. They therefore availed themſelves
" of this fore-knowledge, and eſtabliſhed a private ſociety among
" themſelves, for buying up as much as they could of the ready-
" made ſalt, which lay diſperſed in different parts. Mr. *Verelſt*,
" who conducted this ſeparate concern, and was one of their Com-
" mittee, under the cloke uſually aſſumed on ſuch extraordinary
" occaſions, of its being for the benefit of the Company's affairs,
" was (at his own recommendation) appointed to a new and un-
" precedented employment, that of ſuperviſor of the provinces of
" *Burdwân* and *Midnipore*, where great quantities of ſalt are pro-
" duced. This gave him an opportunity of aſſociating himſelf
" with the junior ſervants under him at *Burdwân*, in a contract,
" for delivering to the Committee all the ſalt produced in that
" province; which he accordingly did, as may be ſeen in the copy
" of an indenture executed with the Committee on that occaſion,
" inſerted in the *Appendix*, Num. 42. page 151."

" The concerned in the ſaid private ſociety, which was very
" extenſive in its operations, were the Right Honourable Lord
" *Clive*, *William Brightwell Sumner*, General *John Carnac*, *Harry*
" *Verelſt*, and *Francis Sykes*, Eſquires, as may be ſeen in Num.
" 43. of the *Appendix*, page 158; which is a copy of the ori-
" ginal indenture of the aſſignment executed by his Lordſhip, on
" his ſelling his own ſhares in the public and private ſocieties."

As Mr. *Verelſt* has induſtriouſly evaded anſwering a word on theſe ſubjects, we ſhall take the liberty of tranſcribing a few extracts from the records of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, as they ſtand in the reports of the Select Committee already quoted.

* " Having thus ſtated the orders of the Court of Directors,
" your Committee think proper to obſerve, that the ſalt-ſociety,
" which afterwards took place, appears to have been originally pro-
" poſed at ſea by Lord *Clive*, during his paſſage to *India*; and the
" evidence upon which your Committee ground this fact, is a let-
" ter from Lord *Clive* to the Court of Directors, dated the 1ſt *Fe-*
" *bruary* 1766.

* Reports, vol. III. page 462.

" And

" And it appears to your Committee, from the evidence of ſeve-
" ral witneſſes here following, that in the beginning of *June*,
" being a few days after the arrival of Mr. *Verelſt* from *Chittigong*,
" and about the time of the third meeting of the Select Committee,
" a private partnerſhip was formed, in the names of Lord *Clive*,
" Mr. *Sumner*, Mr. *Verelſt*, and Mr. *Sykes*, for purchaſing large
" quantities of ſalt, then in the hands of private merchants. Your
" Committee are prevented ſtating the extent of this tranſaction ſo
" fully as they might otherwiſe have done, by *Mr.* Verelſt *declin-*
" *ing to anſwer a queſtion put to him upon that ſubject*; *becauſe*, *as he*
" *alleged*, *the Court of Directors had threatened him with a proſecution*
" *upon ſalt-concerns*, &c. &c.

* " Mr. *Sumner* being examined upon the ſubject of the above-
" mentioned partnerſhip, informed your Committee, that, ſome
" time in the month of *June* 1765, Mr. *Verelſt* mentioned to him
" his having made ſome purchaſes of old ſalt upon his own account,
" and, at the ſame time, propoſed his taking a ſhare therein, to-
" gether with Lord *Clive* and Mr. *Sykes*, which the witneſs agreed
" to; that each of them had a quarter-part, and that Mr. *Verelſt*
" undertook the management of the concern, and the keeping of
" the accounts; that the witneſs ſold his quarter to Mr. *Verelſt*,
" about the middle of *September*, for a certain profit; that he had
" at this time advanced his whole ſhare of the money required for
" the purchaſe, amounting to £ 12,500, *&c. &c.*

† " Your Committee then examined *Francis Sykes*, Eſq; a mem-
" ber of the Houſe; who being aſked, whether he remembered
" any partnerſhip between himſelf, Lord *Clive*, Mr. *Sumner*, and
" Mr. *Verelſt?* ſaid, That a quantity of ſalt was purchaſed by
" them, the time he could not recollect, but he believed it might
" be about two months after their arrival; that the ſaid ſalt was
" bought of many black people, and many *Engliſh* gentlemen; Mr.
" *John Johnſtone*, Mr. *Haſtings*'s attornies, and others; that they
" bought it on their own private accounts, and that it was ſalt
" manufactured the year before their arrival. Being aſked, why
" they dealt themſelves in ſalt, before they had proceeded to re-
" gulate the trade? he ſaid, *He did not know that they did*, previous
" to their entering on the ſubject, or to the intention being pub-
" licly known; that this partnerſhip ſalt was not ſold to the ſociety,

* Reports, Vol. III. page 463.
† Ibid.

" *but*

" *but to the country people*; that the gentlemen concerned were " drawn upon for money agreeably to their ſhares; that the wit- " neſſes's proportion was about a lack of rupees; that the advan- " tages of the ſaid partnerſhip, to thoſe who continued their con- " cern, reckoning loſs of intereſt and balances, might be thirty *per* " *cent.*—He ſaid, that he did not recollect who made the propoſal " to Lord *Clive* relating to this partnerſhip, but that his Lordſhip " was not concerned in it from the beginning; that it was begun " by Mr. *Verelſt*; that the witneſs afterwards *accepted* a concern, " and that, ſome time after, Lord *Clive* and Mr. *Sumner* did the " ſame. And being aſked, whether Lord *Clive* entered into this " partnerſhip upon his own account, or for the benefit of other " perſons? he ſaid, He remembered very well, that at the time " Lord *Clive* took the concern, he declared he would not benefit " himſelf ſix-pence by it; that he intended the profits which might " ariſe from it, for Mr. *Strachey*, Mr. *Maſkelyne*, and Mr. *Ingham*, " the ſurgeon, the three gentlemen who had accompanied him to " *India*, *&c. &c.*

So far, the parties concerned have themſelves eſtabliſhed the veracity of the author of *Conſiderations*, &c. But the point which Mr. *Verelſt* and his friends have found hardeſt of digeſtion, was the deed of indemnity exhibited by the writer, whereby the noble Lord and his Council engaged, under an immenſe penalty, to keep up and enforce the continuance of the excluſive trade in ſalt, *notwithſtanding any orders of the Court of Directors to the contrary*, and to ſave harmleſs, and indemnify the Committee of Trade, who were entruſted with the concerns of the ſociety, from the conſequences of ſuch diſobedience.

The ſubterfuges of Mr. *Verelſt* to this proof againſt them, are like the wily doublings of an old fox at the laſt gaſp. But it is impoſſible to do juſtice to that gentleman's dexterity, without tranſcribing the whole paſſage in his own words, which are as follow:

* " A wonderful diſcovery is now made of a deed, an unheard- " of engagement among the Company's ſervants, to ſupport each " other in a predetermined diſobedience of orders. If thoſe who " ſo readily adopt this opinion, had conſulted the Company's re- " cords for information, and not to ſerve a preſent purpoſe, they " would probably have read the whole relative to the ſubject, and " might, in ſuch caſe, have found every particular entered at large

* *Verelſt*'s View, page 111.

" among the proceedings of the Council, 16th *September* 1765, and " tranſmitted to the Directors in the general letter.

" The plan being formed, and ſhares of the ſociety diſtributed " among the Company's ſervants, according to their reſpective " rank, the conduct of this trade was entruſted to a Committee, " choſen for that purpoſe, who proceeded to make many contracts " for ſalt. But it was ſoon found impoſſible, without the concur- " rence of the Council, " to eſtabliſh the credit of the ſociety, ſo " as to raiſe the neceſſary fund for carrying on the trade." The " Committee of Trade, therefore, requeſt a deed in writing to ſe- " cure to them this trade during the year, ending 31ſt of *Auguſt* " 1766.

" Had the Directors thought fit to ſend retroſpective orders for " the abolition of this ſociety, erected with the previous aſſent of " themſelves and their conſtituents, ſuch orders could not arrive in " *Bengal* before the year was expired. The Council, therefore, " unanimouſly reſolved to indemnify the Committee of Trade, in " an engagement undertaken upon the faith of the Company; and " as the *Admiral Stevens* was not yet diſpatched, " it is agreed to " apply to the Company for permiſſion to renew the ſame for the " future concerns, *if the plan meets with their approbation.*" By this " deed, the Committee of Trade became perſonally reſponſible for " the duties to the Company; the Council, on the other hand, " engaging to continue the ſociety during one year. So little idea " of guilt was entertained, that *none of the gentlemen concerned have* " *ever kept a copy*; but the original deed was drawn by Mr. * *Whit-* " *tall*, whom Mr. *Bolts* ſuppoſes to have been cruelly oppreſſed, " by the ſame men who entruſted him with this very dangerous " conſpiracy. Mr. *Bolts* knew the tranſaction would not bear the " conſtruction he wiſhed it to receive. He therefore makes *ano-* " *ther* † *deed*, the date of which is ſuppreſſed, to precede this in

* In a note upon this name, Mr. *Vereliſt* ſays, " Mr. *Whittall*, an attorney of the " Mayor's Court, was directed to draw out the deed; and the letter of the Commit- " tee of Trade, and reſolution thereupon, which appear in conſultations, were tranſ- " mitted to him, as inſtructions for forming the ſame. What *this friend* of Mr. *Bolts* " *may have added, before or ſince*, it is impoſſible for thoſe to ſay who have no copy of " the deed."

† Upon this word alſo, Mr. *Vereliſt* has the following note: " This deed was executed " more than twelve months after the other;" alluding to the deed given in Appendix to *Conſiderations*, vol. I. page 158, which was only a copy of Lord *Clive*'s private deed of ſale of his ſhare of the ſalt, in partnerſhip with Meſſrs. *Sumner*, *Vereliſt*, and *Sykes*, and had no connexion with the deed of indemnity, now under our conſideration.

" his

" his Appendix, becauſe it would otherwiſe have proved, that a " diſobedience of orders had never been in contemplation of the " parties. This deed, relating to a period, within which orders " were expected to arrive from home, plainly ſuppoſes ſuch orders " would be obeyed, for it contains an expreſs ſtipulation in a par- " ticular private contract upon this event, " that if any order or " direction ſhall be iſſued by the honourable Court of Directors of " the *Eaſt India* Company in *England*, by which the ſaid joint-trade " in ſalt, beetlenut, and tobacco, ſhall be ſtopped, *&c.*" It was " not, therefore, the private intention of theſe gentlemen to diſ- " obey, much leſs would they have ſet forth ſuch intention upon " the public records of the Company, if they had ever entertained " the thought."

The reader here ſees that Mr. *Verelſt* has recourſe to the ſtratagem of repreſenting the tranſaction to have been no ſecret, and that every particular was entered at large among the proceedings of the Council tranſmitted to the Directors. To have the appearance of a ſupport for his bold aſſertions, he refers * to the conſultations of the 16th *September* 1765, whereon is recorded a letter from the Committee of Trade, conſiſting only of four members, whereof the copartners, Meſſrs. *Sumner* and *Verelſt*, make two, requeſting a deed from the Preſident and Council at large, then conſiſting of themſelves, with the addition of General *Carnac*, and the copartners Mr. *Francis Sykes* and Lord *Clive*, to ſecure to the proprietors, whom they had been pleaſed to enrol on their liſt, the excluſive trade in ſalt, in the mode in which it had been juſt eſtabliſhed by themſelves.

On reference to thoſe proceedings, in the † Reports of the Houſe of Commons, it will appear, that every material circumſtance is therein cautiouſly ſuppreſſed, while from the words of the minute on their ſaid Records, the reader is left with an impreſſion that *ſomething* was doing agreeable to the honourable Company's orders or intentions.——Nevertheleſs, the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons, ‡ " having inquired whether the ſaid deed was tranſ- " mitted to the Court of Directors, they find, by the evidence of " § Mr. *Michell* and Mr. *Wilks*, that though an account thereof

* *Verelſt*'s Appendix, page 249.
† Reports, vol. IV. page 184.
‡ Ibid. page 107.
§ The Secretary, and one of his deputies at the *India-houſe*.

" was ſent, in the manner before-mentioned, it doth not appear in " the books and correſpondence of the Company, that the ſaid *deed* " *was ever tranſmitted to the Court of Directors*;" whoſe orders, or intentions, the parties were, in fact, at that time ſolemnly engaging to ſet at defiance.

Leſt Mr. *Verelſt* ſhould fail in his evidence of the openneſs of this tranſaction, and of its ſtrict conformity to the Company's orders, the reader will further perceive, on collating that gentleman's notes with the text, that the author of *Conſiderations*, &c. is ſuppoſed to have conſpired with the attorney who drew the original deed, in forging the tranſcript that was exhibited to the public in that work, of which *the innocent gentlemen concerned, unconſcious of guilt, had not even preſerved a copy.*

To detect theſe ambidextrous tricks of the ingenious Mr. *Verelſt*, we muſt again crave the reader's indulgence for tranſcribing the further evidence given on this ſubject, from the Report of the Select Committee of the Houſe of Commons, which was as follows:

* " Your Committee proceeded next to inquire into the nature " of the deed mentioned in the former part of this Report, and alſo " in the Report of the Committee of Secrecy, to have been ſoli- " cited by the Committee of Trade, on the 16th *September* 1765, " and into the tranſactions reſpecting the ſame.

" And your Committee examined Mr. *Richard Whittall*; who " being aſked, If he knew any thing of a deed to protect the ſalt- " trade, and to indemnify the Committee of Trade?——he ſaid, " He was a ſworn attorney of the Mayor's Court at *Calcutta*; that " in *October* 1765, *Mr.* Verelſt *applied to him, and gave him inſtruc-* " *tions to prepare a deed of indemnity from the Preſident and Council of* " Bengal *to the Committee of Trade*; that he accordingly drew one " up; and which upon being ſhewn to Mr. *Verelſt*, he having " made ſome alterations, approved of it; that the witneſs after- " wards laid a fair copy of it before the Governor and Council for " their approbation; that by direction of the board he made ſome " further alterations and additions in his own hand, and engroſſed " it, and delivered it to Mr. *Lawrell*, the Secretary to the Com- " mittee of Trade; that about ten days afterwards he waited on " Mr. *Lawrell*, who deſired him to fill up the penalty, and alter " the date, which was the 11th of *September*, to ſome ſubſequent

* Reports, vol. III. page 470.

" day,

" day, to make it conſiſtent with the other deed from the ſociety " to the Committee of Trade; the date of which had been altered, " before execution, from the 12th of *Auguſt* to the 18th *September*: " and being aſked, If he could ſpeak with certainty as to any time " poſterior to which the deed referred to muſt have been executed, " ſuppoſing it was ever executed? He ſaid, That in the begin- " ning of *November* he rented another houſe, where he was very " certain both the deeds referred to were engroſſed; and the ſeal " which the deed from the ſociety to the Committee of Trade was " ſealed with, he had from the owner of that houſe after he went " into it; that, to the beſt of his remembrance, he delivered both " deeds to the Secretary about the middle of *November*, about ten " days after which he altered the date, and filled up the blank for " the penalty; that he was, therefore, induced to believe it muſt " be the end of *November*, or beginning of *December*, before either " of them were executed. And being aſked, If he had ever ſeen " either of them after they were executed? He ſaid, In *September* " 1766 he waited on Lord *Clive*, to receive inſtructions to prepare " another deed; when his Lordſhip informed him, that he had " been peruſing thoſe two deeds, and which were then laying before " him on the table; that his Lordſhip obſerved to him, that there " was not any valuable conſideration expreſſed, and aſked him, If " he thought them valid? That he ſaid, He could not aſcertain " how far they were valid in law, but that he had prepared them " agreeable to the inſtructions he had received. And being aſked, " If he was ſure the deed, if ever executed, muſt have been exe- " cuted after the 15th *October?* He ſaid, He was poſitive of it. " And being aſked, with what ſum the blank for the penalty was " filled up? He ſaid, He believed 300,000 l. and that Lord *Clive* " talked of thoſe deeds to him as deeds executed. And being " aſked, Whether he had any inſtructions to keep this tranſaction " ſecret? He ſaid, He had not; but that he never did mention it " to any body but Mr. *Banks*, which was in the year 1769; that " he did not mention it, becauſe he thought it was a matter that " ſhould not be made public, from the nature of the tranſaction, " it being an agreement to carry on a trade contrary to the orders " of the Company. And being aſked, What were his motives " for mentioning it to Mr. *Banks*, after keeping it ſecret for three " years? He ſaid, That talking to Mr. *Banks*, whom he eſteemed " his friend, about a contract he had made for the Committee of " Trade, he mentioned it in common converſation. And being

" asked, When, and on what occasion, he first mentioned the deed " in *England*? He said, That he mentioned it soon after his arrival, " which was in *November* 1770, because he thought it ought to be " made public, and that he was not bound in honour to keep it " secret; that he first spoke of it to Mr. *Bolts*, and in *December* " 1771, was called before the Court of Directors to be examined " about it. The copy of the rough draft of the deed produced " by Mr. *Whittall*, as referred to in the above evidence, is here- " unto annexed, Num. 63."

* " Then *William Brightwell Sumner*, Esquire, being asked, If he " knew any thing of a deed entered into between the Governor and " Council, and Committee of Trade, to ensure the carrying on " the salt-society for one year? Said, That such a deed was en- " tered into; the express terms of the deed he did not recollect; " but he said, he considered it as an engagement on the part of the " Proprietors, to pay to the Company certain stipulated duties; " and on the part of the Governor and Council, to secure to the " Proprietors the carrying on that trade for the space of one year, " or to save and bear them harmless. Being asked, Whether any " mention was made of that deed by the Governor and Council " upon record? He referred your Committee to the consultations " 16th *September* 1765, and to the 40th and 41st paragraphs of the " letter from the Governor and Council to the Court of Directors, " dated the 30th of *September* 1765, (copies of which are annexed " in the Appendix to the former † Report of this Committee.) " And Mr. *Sumner* being asked, Whether the deed, which he had " formerly said was executed, was drawn up by Mr. *Whittall*? He " answered in the affirmative.

" Some days after the above examination, *Henry Strachey*, Esq; " a member of the Committee, produced a paper, which he said " he believed to be a copy of the deed of indemnity to protect the " society of the salt-trade: That he ordered a copy to be made " when he was in *Bengal* in 1766, or *January* 1767; that the " paper is in the hand-writing of Mr. *William Hippisley Coxe*, who " was in his ‡ office at that time, as to the body of it; and that " the names of the contracting parties subscribed to it, and the " indorsement, are in the hand-writing of Mr. *William Wynne*, who " was also an assistant in his office; and that he believed it to be

* Reports, vol. III. page 471.
† Ibid. page 388.
‡ As private Secretary to Lord *Clive*.

" the

" the copy he ſo ordered to be made. And being aſked, When " he found that that copy was in his poſſeſſion? He replied, A " few weeks ago, but could not ſay exactly. And being aſked, If " he could ſay, that the deed was executed before the 15th of " *October* 1765? He ſaid, He did not know when it was executed. " And your Committee have alſo annexed a copy of the ſaid deed " produced by Mr. *Strachey*, Num. 64."

" Your Committee having thus ſtated all the circumſtances they " have been able to collect reſpecting the deed of indemnity in " 1765, they think proper to remark, that by a letter from the " Committee of Trade, dated the 15th of *July* 1767, entered in " general conſultations of the 27th of the ſame month, it appears, " that a ſecond deed of indemnity muſt have been entered into " with the Committee of Trade for that year, *viz.* Meſſrs. *Cartier*, " *Ruſſell*, *Alderſey*, and *Fſloyer*; but no ſuch deed has appeared " before your Committee, nor can they diſcover any traces of it in " the records of the Company."

The copy of the deed above referred to, as produced by Mr. *Strachey*, contains the expreſs words on which the charge of diſobedience is founded, and differs in no material circumſtance from that exhibited by the author of *Conſiderations*, except the penal ſum, which in Mr. *Strachey*'s copy is filled up with eight lacks of current rupees.——But for the further ſatisfaction of the curious reader, on the ſubject of this ſalt-monopoly, and the diſobedience of the Select Committee to the orders of the Directors, we beg leave to refer him to a general view * of the proceedings, held both in *England* and in *Bengal* relative to this buſineſs, as drawn up from the records of the Company, by an old and able ſervant of their own.—He will therein perceive, that after the receipt of repeated orders from the Directors, for the abolition of this ſalt-monopoly, it was, nevertheleſs, "*kept up, continued, and enforced,*" agreeably to the engagements in the reſpective bonds of indemnity; and even *after the faith of the* Calcutta *government had been repeatedly pledged to the natives, by public reſolutions and advertiſements, for aboliſhing the ſociety*, and encouraging them to embark again in the ſalt-trade.

In the further diſcuſſion of the ſubject of our preſent conſideration, we cannot but expoſe the great reluctance with which the members of the Select Committee relinquiſhed this their moſt favourite

* Appendix A. Num. XLVI. page 229.

vourite of all monopolies, and the hypocriſy which they practiſed, when no ſubterfuge was left them for evading the Company's orders.

They had already, in *September* 1765, acknowledged, that the * intereſt of the Nabob, with regard to ſalt, was no longer concerned, as the whole of the duties belonged to the Company, who † poſſeſſing territorial juriſdiction, and having become the ‡ Sovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom, were not only the collectors, but the proprietors of the revenues, while the ‖ Nabob's power was kept up only in appearance. In ſhort, they had, as hath been before ſhewn, in the moſt expreſs terms acknowledged the fact, that they had transferred all power to themſelves, and that there exiſted no other government in *Bengal*.

Yet forgetful of what they had ſo lately written, in their letter dated *Calcutta* the 24th *January* 1767, Lord *Clive*, Mr. *Verelſt*, General *Carnac*, and Mr. *Sykes* ſet forth the evils that would accrue from reſtoring the former freedom of this trade, in the following words: § "We are now directed totally to renounce all ſhare in and "benefit ariſing from this trade; it muſt be made over to the na- "tives; THE GOVERNMENT *muſt of courſe come into poſſeſſion*; nor "can it be carried on otherwiſe than upon the ancient footing of "farming it out to miniſters, officers, favourites, and dependants on "*the Government*, who will rear immenſe fortunes upon the oppreſ- "ſion and ruin of the Public, *in deſpite of our utmoſt influence and en-* "*deavours.*"

The intervention of ſix months having obliterated the recollection of that unavoidable ruin and oppreſſion which were denounced in this letter, the Reſident at the *Durbar*, in *Auguſt* 1767, ¶ tranſmitted to the Select Committee the outlines of a plan for putting the making and the ſelling of all the ſalt produced in *Bengal* under the direction and management of the Nabob's officers. The profits, which under the monopoly had been divided into ſixty ſhares, might have been thereby diſtributed among "*the miniſters and officers of* THE GO- "VERNMENT;" a ſcheme which appeared ſo glaring that it was "*chiefly*," if not wholly, on that account rejected by the Committee, who now gave it as their opinion, that * "*juſtice required the privi-*

* Reports, vol. III. page 523.
† Lord *Clive*'s Letter to the Directors of the 30th *September* 1765.
‡ Select Committee's Letter to the Directors of the 30th *Sept.* 1765, par. 29 and 38.
‖ Ibid.
§ Reports, vol. III. page 527.
¶ See Appendix A. Num. XXVIII. page 160.
* Appendix A. page 161.

"*lege*

" *lege of making ſalt ſhould be reſtored to thoſe perſons who formerly de-*
" *rived their ſubſiſtence from it, and who had no other means of providing*
" *for their families.*"

About the very ſame period of time, when the Court of Directors were framing their orders for reſtoring this trade to the natives, the noble projector of the monopoly, anxiouſly ſolicitous to perſuade them to relinquiſh their deſign, and confirm the trade to the Select Committee as before, boldly repreſented to the Court, that " the " natives, having never enjoyed the advantages they propoſed to " give them, would be *aſtoniſhed* at ſo unexpected and extraordinary " an indulgence." Among other arguments equally *ingenious* and *ſatisfactory*, which may be ſeen at large in his letters to the Directors of the 28th *Auguſt* and 14th *November* 1767, his Lordſhip † urged, that it would be a convenient means for rewarding the ſervants and ſhutting the door to the ſolicitations of Noblemen to provide for the younger branches of their families; which he repreſented as a meaſure that might be apprehended, if rewards were beſtowed from a commiſſion granted either upon the Company's inveſtment or their revenues.

But the ſame noble Lord, who had thus recommended a plan to exclude the ſons of the Nobility, was the firſt man who had dealt largely to himſelf a commiſſion of one and one-eighth *per cent.* upon thoſe ‡ revenues, amounting to near thirty thouſand pounds *per annum:* and Preſident *Verelſt*, who by repeated advertiſements had pretended to aboliſh the monopoly; who by public edicts had invited the natives to the making of ſalt; and who on the 2d *September* 1767 had acknowledged that juſtice required the privilege of making ſalt ſhould be reſtored to thoſe natives who had been deprived of the means of providing ſubſiſtence for their families; was the ſame gentleman who, in *Auguſt* 1768, ſeverely reprimanded || *Mahommed Reza Khawn*, for having, even then, permitted the Fowzdar of *Hoogly* to ſuffer the native merchants to remove their ſalt; alleging that the Committee's term was not yet expired.

† Reports, vol. III. pages 528 and 529.

‡ Appendix A. page 237.

|| Ibid. B Num. XXV. XXVI. and XXVII. pages 297 and 298. It was in conſequence of ſuch orders as are here referred to, that the poor inhabitants had their ſalt waſhed away, as related in a note to *Conſiderations, &c.* vol. I. pages 201 and 202; on which occaſion the writer had ſeen above two hundred of the ſalt-makers ſurrounding the Governor's palanqueen on the high road, and falling proſtrate on their faces before him, to induce him to ſuffer the removal of their ſalt, before it was waſhed away.

Having

Having now ſufficiently expoſed the hypocriſy, and fixed the proof of the diſobedience and intereſted combinations practiſed among the members of the ſelf-praiſing and ſelf-denying Committee of Reformers, at *Calcutta*, it becomes neceſſary to examine a few other circumſtances attending this extraordinary eſtabliſhment.

For the purpoſe of impoſing a belief, that this monopoly, as conducted by the *pious* Committee, had been really a benefit to the natives, it is aſſerted by Mr. *Verelſt*, that * " Mr. *Sumner*, who was " indefatigable in adjuſting every part of the plan, actually *ſearched* " about twenty years back; and the price was, in conſequence of " this reſearch, fixed at the ſeveral markets, to which the ſociety " tranſported ſalt, full fifteen *per cent.* lower than the price at which " it uſually ſold. From theſe markets it was carried by the natives, " ſo that the conſumer muſt purchaſe his ſalt for leſs than had been " ordinarily given."

† " A difficulty will here occur to the mind of the reader: how " could the ſalt be ſold at the uſual price, when the Company and " Proprietors received each a profit?"

To reconcile this difficulty, much labour is taken by Mr. *Verelſt*, in the ſame page, to impoſe a belief, that during the former ſtate of the ſalt-trade, from the heavy duties which the Nabob's officers collected, the extortions they practiſed, and the vexatious delays which they occaſioned, the native merchants were much worſe off than under the adminiſtration of the Select Committee. In further ſupport of this paradox, a quotation is likewiſe given from a pamphlet publiſhed by Mr. *Archibald Keir*, when he was ſoliciting to return to *India*, to execute the plan propoſed in his publication, for an *aſſize* on ſalt. From this pamphlet Mr. *Verelſt* has ſelected the complimentary opinion of that gentleman, ‡ that the ſociety for the trade in

* *Verelſt*'s View, page 113.

† Ibid. page 114.

‡ Ibid. page 115. Mr. *Verelſt* hath not given a faithful quotation from Mr. *Keir*, whoſe words are as follow: " After all, however, on the moſt cool and impartial reflec- " tion, I do not think, that the monopoly, as inſtituted by Lord *Clive* and the Select " Committee, was ſo detrimental and ruinous to the country as has been aſſerted; nay, " I am rather of a contrary opinion; for thoſe articles were not only not ſold dearer, but, " indeed, at a lower rate, during the monopoly, at moſt places at leaſt, than, at a me- " dium, had been done for many years before; while there was a fixed price upon them, " which, no doubt, would have been of advantage to the people, had it been continued, " particularly with regard to ſalt. As to the propriety or impropriety of the Company's " allowing ſuch a monopoly, and ſo great a revenue to their ſervants, it is foreign to my " purpoſe to inquire into it here." See Thoughts on the Affairs of *Bengal*, by *Archibald Keir*, Eſq; 1772, page 57.

ſalt

ſalt, beetlenut, and tobacco, inſtituted by Lord *Clive* and the Select Committee, was ſo far from being detrimental to the country, that thoſe articles were ſold at a lower rate, during the monopoly, than they had been for many years.—Then follows a long and perplexed detail of the prices of ſalt at different places, before the eſtabliſhment of the ſociety in queſtion: at which period, according to Mr. *Sumner*'s eſtimate, that article is ſaid to have been known at *Patna* as high as ſeven hundred rupees *per* hundred maunds.

We are not informed where Mr. *Sumner ſearched* for his information, nor do we know any period, previous to the eſtabliſhment of the ſociety, when ſalt ſold at *Patna* for ſeven rupees *per* maund, except one, and that was when the Nabob himſelf, by way of making a preſent to the Chief of the *Engliſh* factory, took off all his ſalt at a very high price, and, to indemnify himſelf, cauſed it afterwards to be reſold, at even an advanced rate, to the natives. If Mr. *Sumner*'s medium-prices were formed upon ſuch *data*, we need not be ſurprized that Mr. *Verelſt* has cautiouſly avoided to exhibit a copy of the eſtimate; which, we will venture to pronounce, would, in no circumſtances whatever, warrant the concluſion drawn by that gentleman.

With reſpect to the duties and exactions, Mr. *Vanſittart*, who took great pains to collect information on that ſubject, upon his journey up the country, when he ſettled the treaty with the Nabob *Coſſim Ally Khawn*, reckons the regular or legal duties on ſalt from *Calcutta* to *Patna* at fifteen *per cent.* and, with all the exactions on the way, at ſomething better than twenty-five rupees * *per* hundred maunds. This was during the reign of as tyrannic a Nabob as ever ſat on the *Muſnud*; and Mr. *Verelſt* acknowledges †, that by the ſociety's plan in 1765 a duty of thirty-five *per cent.* and by the plan of the year 1766, a duty of fifty *per cent.* was levied for the Company.

Having had as extenſive dealings in ſalt as Mr. *Sumner* or Mr. *Keir*, the writer may be very juſtly excuſed from giving up his knowledge of that buſineſs to the opinions of either of thoſe gentlemen. But as

* See *Vanſittart*'s Narrative, vol. II. page 414. "By all the informations I could get "on this ſubject, I find, that from this place to *Patna* the King's duties are collected on "ſalt at ſix different places, *viz. Hoogly; Murſhedabâd*, or *Jellinguee*; *Ragemahl*; "*Canragolah*; *Baghelpoor*; and, finally, the *Dewannee*-duty, upon the ſales at *Patna*. "The amount of theſe, reckoned at the loweſt of the ſeveral informations I took, was "more than twenty-five rupees *per* hundred maunds; or if we reckon them at what is "ſaid to be the regular King's duties, at every place where duties are collected, that is, "two and a half *per cent.* the amount will be fifteen *per cent.*"

† *Verelſt*'s View, note, page 116.

Mr. *Verelſt* has choſen to quote Mr. *Keir*'s pamphlet, we will alſo avail ourſelves of the ſame evidence for confuting of both our author and his favourite authority.

	Rupees	*Annas*	*Pice*
According to Mr. *Keir* (page 75 of his pamphlet) the original price paid by him, at the pans, to the ſalt-boilers, was for every * 100 maunds, *Arcot* rupees	25	0	0
The charges and riſk of carrying it to *Patna*, with which, he ſays (page 76) he is well acquainted, he eſtimates at 6 annas *per* maund, but thinks it may be done for leſs. At that rate the hundred maunds will coſt	37	8	0
	62	8	0
Mr. *Keir* further ſays (page 77) "that where boats "are good, and the people really honeſt, there will "not be a loſs of two *per cent.* in the whole tranſport "of it to *Patna*:" but to avoid cavil, let us admit it to be	5	0	0
	67	8	0
Now let us take Mr. *Vanſittart*'s eſtimate at 25 rupees *per* 100 maunds, for the duties, exactions, and extortions on the road, during the government of the moſt tyrannic Nabob; or, to avoid a cavil, let us even take the rate eſtabliſhed by Lord *Clive* and the Select Committee of *Calcutta*, during the laſt year of their monopoly, which was 50 *per cent.* valuing the 100 maunds at 90 rupees. This gives us the ſum of	45	0	0
	112	8	0
And, next, let us allow for unforeſeen petty charges not herein provided for, and for a reaſonable profit to the merchant, largely, in the ſum of	37	8	0
	150	0	0

* For the ſatisfaction of ſuch readers as may be deſirous of conviction from their own calculations, it may be neceſſary to premiſe, that the rupee called *Arcot*, upon which this computation is founded, is ſuppoſed to be worth two ſhillings and four pence. The ſubdiviſions of a rupee are, each rupee 16 annas, and each anna 12 pice. The maund is eſtimated at 80 pounds avoirdupoize; and it's ſubdiviſions are, each maund 40 ſeers, and each ſeer 16 chittacks.

We

We have then the ſum of one hundred and fifty rupees for the hundred maunds, or one rupee and a half for the price at which each maund of ſalt might be afforded to be ſold, by a reaſonable merchant, at * *Patna*; where, according to Mr. *Sumner*'s eſtimate of the medium-prices, calculated to juſtify the inſtitution of the monopoly, it was found to have been, before the eſtabliſhment of the ſociety, at ſeven rupees *per* maund: and where, according to Mr. *Verelſt* †, the higheſt price, after that eſtabliſhment, was four rupees *per* maund.

This calculation from Mr. *Keir*, of the coſt of ſalt, tranſported from the pans to *Patna*, will obviate what Mr. *Verelſt* objects, that ‡ "Mr. *Bolts* ſeems to have formed all his eſtimates upon the price "which ſalt bore at *Calcutta*, without making any allowance for the "advantages which the interior country experienced."—Nevertheleſs, it will be difficult to aſſign a reaſon that ſhall be ſatisfactory to a rational merchant, why the price at *Calcutta* ſhould not be taken as the only baſis whereon to calculate the rates at which ſalt might be afforded at all other inland markets; ſeeing that *Calcutta* had become the capital city, port, and emporium of the provinces, for ſalt and every other commodity. But when it is farther conſidered, that the Preſident and Council of *Calcutta* were not only become the uncontrouled legiſlators to regulate the duties, but alſo the executive magiſtrates, if they pleaſed, to prevent abuſes in the collection of them, this objection of Mr. *Verelſt* will be found to conſiſt of nothing but words, without a meaning.

The only error which the Author of *Conſiderations* hath committed, in treating upon this monopoly, is, his having eſtimated the amount thereby collected from the natives of *Bengal* at ‖ 673,117*l.*—whereas, by lights which he hath ſince acquired, he finds it ſhould at leaſt be rated at double that ſum.—It is notorious, that in the years 1753 and 1754 *Cogee Wazeed*, whoſe example the noble Lord hath § quoted as an authority for the juſtification of his eſtabliſhment, ſold his ſalt in *Calcutta* at from *forty* to *fifty* rupees *per* hundred maunds, as can be proved by ſeveral gentlemen now in *England*. It is alſo well known, that Mr. *Sumner*, whoſe indefatigable reſearches have been ap-

* It appears by a letter of Mr. *Robert Maddiſon*, late *Perſian* Tranſlator to Mr. *Verelſt*, that even in *January* 1769, while the effects of the monopoly ſtill prevailed, that gentleman could tranſport ſalt to *Patna* which did not ſtand him in above one rupee fourteen annas *per* maund, expences included. See Appendix A. page 193.

† View of *Bengal*, note, page 117.

‡ Ibid. page 116.

‖ *Conſiderations*, &c. vol. I. page 188.

§ Reports, vol. III. page 529, and Lord *Clive*'s ſpeech 30th *March* 1772, page 23.

pealed to by Mr. *Verelſt*, as a ſanction for the very low prices eſtabliſhed by the Committee, had himſelf, in the year 1758, extenſive dealings in ſalt, which he purchaſed at *thirty-five* rupees *per* hundred maunds: and, upon an examination of the books of the Government at *Hoogly*, in the year 1764, the whole of the duties there collected on ſalt appeared never to have exceeded fifty thouſand pounds ſterling *per annum*. Unleſs, therefore, no ideas can be affixed to words, or truths cannot be deduced from facts and arithmetical computations, we may ſafely defy any man to juſtify the eſtabliſhment of the monopoly under conſideration.—The very attempt is an inſult on common ſenſe; nor can a better argument ever be offered in it's ſupport, than that which was given, with ſo great applauſe and ſucceſs, by the noble monopoliſt, in his own juſtification before the Commons of *Great Britain*, drawn from the abundant abilities of the poor natives to pay the Committee-prices for their ſalt, from their abſtinence and parſimony in their food, apparel, and edifices. His Lordſhip's words were as follow:

* "The loweſt wages in *Bengal* are two rupees a month, which is "twenty-four rupees, or three pounds *per annum*.—The poor can "ſcarcely be ſaid to be at any other expence than for eating:—they "drink nothing but water—they wear no cloaths—their houſes are "built with mud or clay, thatched with ſtraw.—Now I leave the "Houſe to judge, whether the expence of from fifteen-pence to two "ſhillings and ſixpence a year for twenty pounds of ſalt, even to "theſe, the very pooreſt of the inhabitants, can be a grievance?"

* Lord *Clive*'s ſpeech 30th *March* 1772, page 22.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

On the Inconsistency of Conduct, Iniquitous Deceptions, and Interested Abuses of Authority, of the late Presidents and Members of the Select Committees of Bengal; and on their Lavish Profusion of the Property of the Public.

NOTWITHSTANDING every other part of this work furniſhes a variety of facts in proof of ſuch iniquities as are the immediate objects of our *Conſiderations* under the preſent head, it was found impoſſible to do juſtice to our ſubject without ſetting a-part a diſtinct Chapter for the purpoſe of collecting together a few other facts not elſewhere diſcuſſed; ſome of which appear wholly unknown to the public, while others, although mentioned in the *Eaſt India* Reports, now before the Houſe of Commons, are involved in ſuch voluminous obſcurity, as to elude the patience of the generality of readers.

It has been ſhewn, in a preceding Chapter, that, in *April* 1765, Lord *Clive*, at *Madraſs*, diſcovered the very * flouriſhing condition of the Company's affairs in *Bengal*. By his Lordſhip's account, in *November* 1765, their revenue, † *excluſive of all expences*, amounted to one million ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſterling *per annum*; and his Lordſhip, with Mr. *Verelſt* and the reſt of the Secret Committee, aſſured the Directors, in *January* 1766, that ‡ the happy proſpect was daily opening to their view, of ſecurity and opulence to the Company; while, money flowing into their treaſury; contentment expreſſed by the *country-government*; and peace diffuſing its bleſſings throughout every diſtrict of *the Nabob's dominions*, were to them the moſt pleaſing teſtimonies of the rectitude of the meaſures they had purſued.

Among the other great benefits derived from their government, they adviſed the Directors, in *December* 1766, of the great § addi-

* Appendix A. pages 32 to 34, and Reports, vol. III. page 404.
† Appendix A. Num. XI. page 40.
‡ Reports, vol. III. page 515.
§ *Verelſt*'s Appendix, page 38.

tion

tion that had already been made to the current ſpecie of the country, by their new-eſtabliſhed gold coinage; and Mr. *Verelſt*, with the reſt of the Committee, were unanimouſly of opinion with his Lordſhip, in *January* 1767, that the * proſperity of the Company's affairs in *Bengal* was fixed upon a ſolid and permanent baſis; that their revenues were increaſed beyond what they ever before produced, without oppreſſing the inhabitants; and that their inveſtments might be furniſhed, expences civil and military paid, and a large quantity of bullion be annually ſent to *China*, without importing a ſingle dollar.

After the departure of the noble Preſident, his ſucceſſor, Mr. *Verelſt*, and the Committee, in their † letter to the Directors of the 19th *February* 1767, ſtill dwelt upon the then flouriſhing condition of the Company's affairs; the ſtate of which, and of the whole country, they ſaid, was ſuch as afforded "the moſt pleaſing aſſem-"blage of fortunate circumſtances, and of proſperous events, that "had occurred at any period."

But mark, good reader, what different ſcenes began to appear within the ſpace of only ſeven months.

In *September* 1767, Preſident *Verelſt* and his Committee ſet forth at large, in their letter to the ‡ Directors, the then untoward ſymptoms of the decline of the trade, and currency of the provinces; the fatal effects of which they began to experience in the moſt alarming degree.

The gold-coinage, which, in *December* 1766, was repreſented to have added ſo immenſely to the current ſpecie of the country, was forced to be ſuppreſſed in *July* 1768, being § "*one of the principal* "*cauſes of the bankruptcies among the ſhroffs and merchants.*"

In *November* 1768, Mr. *Verelſt* and the Select Committee further repreſented to the Court of Directors, that ‖ trade was totally put a ſtop to, and the ſettlement in a ſtate of bankruptcy; that the moſt reputable men in the ſervice could with difficulty procure ſilver ſufficient for the payment of their ſervants wages; and that they expected ſhortly to be obliged "to collect the revenues in the "commodities produced in the country, without having a proſpect "of vending them at any rate; as the merchants would be totally "deprived of the means to purchaſe them."

* Reports, vol. IV. page 153.
† *Verelſt*'s Appendix, page 47.
‡ Ibid. page 59.
§ Appendix B. Num. XXII. page 296.
‖ *Verelſt*'s Appendix, page 86.

By

By letter of the 21ſt *March* 1769, they informed the Preſident and Select Committee at *Fort St. George*, that * *Bengal* was in the moſt declining condition; that the Company's new-acquired advantages had been placed in the moſt exaggerated light, and their ſituation was then ſo critical and precarious, that they had reſolved to curtail the Company's inveſtment: which they afterwards reduced to forty-five lacks of rupees.

On the 5th *April* 1769, Mr. *Verelſt* acquainted the Directors, that † though they had then little reaſon for fears from abroad, yet the internal ſtate of the provinces was a matter of real concern; and unleſs provided for by ſpeedy and effectual meaſures, they muſt "*moulder* "*into ruin of themſelves*, without the intervention of any enemy."

At a conſultation, held the 16th *Auguſt* 1769, the Select Committee were alſo unanimouſly of opinion, "that the then ſtate of "of the revenue, public and private commerce, manufactures and "agriculture, was ſuch as gave room for the moſt ſerious appre-"henſions, and that the decline in each of thoſe grand concerns "had ſpread itſelf ſo as to produce a moſt alarming criſis in the "Company's affairs." And in the 39th paragraph of the general letter from *Bengal* of the 25th *September* 1769, the Directors were further informed, that ‡ *ſuch was the ſtagnation of trade and general decay of credit, that the moſt opulent amongſt the native merchants, or inhabitants of the Preſidency, preferred locking their caſh up in their cheſts, to the lending it at intereſt, even to the moſt reſpectable character amongſt the Company's ſervants.*

Such were the bleſſed effects, in *Bengal*, of the much boaſted regulations eſtabliſhed for the government of a commercial Empire, by a ſelf-praiſing Secret Committee, alternately taking upon themſelves the buſineſs of merchants, ſoldiers, inquiſitors, judges, legiſlators, and executive magiſtrates, during the period under contemplation.

Nor were the unremitted endeavours of this Committee leſs ſucceſsful in their private traducements of the whole body of the Company's ſervants, civil and military; for by conſtantly and ſecretly accuſing them of rapacity, notorious corruption, mean venality, and of every ſpecies of vice and immorality, they ſo far impoſed on the Directors, that in the 3d paragraph of their § letter of the

* Reports, vol. IV. page 360.
† *Verelſt*'s Appendix, page 114.
‡ Reports, vol. IV. page 416.
§ Ibid. page 191.

17th

17th *May* 1766, that Court were weak enough to write to the noble Preſident as follows:

"We have the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of the deplorable ſtate to which "our affairs were on the point of being reduced, from the cor- "ruption and rapacity of our ſervants, and the univerſal depravity "of manners throughout the ſettlement; we agree entirely with "your Lordſhip, that the train our affairs were then in, would in "a very few months have brought us to a moſt dangerous ſitua- "tion *."

Yet this ſudden danger of ruin to *Bengal* was not owing to the ſervants under Council; for ſuch had been the rapid and aſtoniſhing effects upon the whole community, of the "*wholeſome and ſeaſon-* "*able correction*" of thoſe wonderful reformers, that in a letter, dated ſo early as the 28th of *March* 1768, Mr. *Vereliſt* aſſured the Directors, † he had as great an opinion of their then ſet of ſervants in general, as of any one body of men; and the Lord *Clive*, who had firſt raiſed the clamour againſt them, was the firſt to pronounce their panegyric in the *Britiſh* Senate. After laying all their faults upon their banyans in *India*, the noble orator thus proceeds:

‡ "Hence, Sir, ariſes the clamour againſt the *Engliſh* gentle- "men in *India*. But look at them in a retired ſituation, when "returned to *England*, when they are no longer Nabobs and So- "vereigns of the eaſt;——ſee if there be any thing tyrannical in "their diſpoſition towards their inferiors;—ſee if they are not "good and humane maſters;——Are they not charitable? Are "they not benevolent? Are they not generous? Are they not "hoſpitable?——If they are, thus far, not contemptible members "of ſociety, and if in all their dealings between man and man, "their conduct is ſtrictly honourable:——If, in ſhort, there has "not yet been one character found amongſt them ſufficiently flagi- "tious for MR. FOOTE to exhibit on the theatre in the *Haymarket*, "may we not conclude, that if they have erred, it has been be- "cauſe they were men, placed in ſituations ſubject to little or no "controul."

It is certain, that between the Nabob in *India*, mounted on his elephant, with his § *Nakeebs* running before him, and the plain

* See the names of the gentlemen at that time in the direction, Appendix page 123.
† *Vereliſt*'s Appendix, page 107.
‡ Lord *Clive*'s ſpeech on the 30th of *March* 1772, page 45.
§ Footmen, who chaunt the praiſes or heroic deeds of their maſters, in *Perſian* or *Arabic* verſes, when running before them to clear the way.

Engliſhman

Engliſhman in his native country, where an honeſt porter will yet venture to diſpute the wall with him, if he be inſolent, the difference is as great as between a real Nabob and Mr. *Foote*'s repreſentation of one, in the character of Sir *Matthew Mite*. But it is only the few ſelect men who obtain elephants for their ſupporters. If the noble Lord, therefore, did not mean to confine his eulogies, in that ſpeech, to thoſe elevated gentlemen, who, after returning to their native country with the fruits of their virtues, had been rewarded with ſeats in the Senate, from the FREE ſuffrages of their countrymen, he has made but a juſt, though inadequate, public atonement for the injuries he had done his fellow-ſervants, whoſe proſpects in life were blaſted by his ſecret repreſentations againſt them to their mutual conſtituents.

Nor leſs hypocritical and contradictory appear Mr. *Verelſt*'s repreſentations concerning the Company's civil and military junior-ſervants.

From the alleged diſſolute ſtate of *Calcutta*, antecedent to Lord *Clive*'s arrival, in one part of his book, he pretends * to ſhew the neceſſity which the Select Committee were under, of reclaiming the junior civil-ſervants from the debauchery in which they were immerſed, by diſpelling their gaudy dreams of ſudden acquired wealth; and alſo of leſſening the incomes of ſubaltern military officers, for the preſervation of order and diſcipline, and for the prevention of luxury and diſſipation: which good and neceſſary reformations that gentleman repreſents to have produced ſuch an univerſal diſcontent in one order, and mutinous ſpirit in the other, as threatened deſtruction to the *Engliſh* Empire in *Bengal*.

In another part, Mr. *Verelſt* and the Select Committee deſcribe † the immediate effects of thoſe reformations to have been, in the higheſt degree, diſtreſsful, even to the having endangered the morals of the junior-civil-ſervants, from the preſſing ſcantineſs of their monthly allowances; to the having reduced the ſubaltern officers ſo low, that there was ſcarce a poſſibility of their ſubſiſting and maintaining the appearance, which they ought, of gentlemen; and to the having rendered the reſigning and diſmiſſed officers, the moſt pitiable objects of compaſſion and charity.

Yet on the ſubject of the much-boaſted reformations effected by the Committee, in another place, Mr. *Verelſt* is thus pleaſed to

* *Verelſt*'s View, pages 56 to 61.
† Ibid. Appendix, pages 48 and 49.

ſpeak for himſelf and his colleagues in office.—* "I ſhall ever "think it an honour to have been a member of the Committee "which firſt ſowed the ſeeds of œconomy, and which perſevered "with ſuch ſignal ſucceſs. I ſhall ever allow the higheſt praiſe to "all perſons who exerted and diſtinguiſhed themſelves in that "great and laborious work; and it is with pleaſure I here confeſs "and acknowledge their merits."

To examine, therefore, the pretenſions of theſe Committees to the merit of œconomy in every department, we will collect together a few facts, from the great numbers that preſent themſelves, and then ſubmit them, in one point of view, to the reader's judgment.

The firſt objects which, on this view, offer themſelves, are the accounts-current laid before the board at *Calcutta*, by the Preſidents Lord *Clive* and Mr. *Verelſt*, on their reſpectively reſigning the Company's government, and by *Richard Smith*, Eſq; on his quitting the *Generalſhip* of their army. Theſe accounts were exhibited in ſuch a mode, that had not Lord *Clive*'s fortune been already made, and his reputation for diſintereſtedneſs eſtabliſhed, they might have been all taken as proofs of the truth of his Lordſhip's own remark, that † *every man who is permitted to make a bill, makes a fortune.*

By Lord *Clive*'s account, dated the 31ſt *December* 1766, as it ſtands on the records of the Company, it appears, that the following charges were *neceſſarily* and *unavoidably* incurred on their account: *viz.*

1765, *May* 3d.

For the expences of his Lordſhip's voyage from *England*, until his arrival at *Calcutta*, excluſive of 3000 *l.* paid for this purpoſe by the Directors, Current rupees, 73,489 . 14 . 4

1766, *Dec.* 31ſt.

For ſundry expences under the head of charges-general, from his Lordſhip's arrival in *Calcutta* to this day, ... 99,629 . 12 . 0

For his Lordſhip's table-expences, from ditto to ditto, ... 97,642 . 1 . 8

* Appendix A. Num. XLIV. page 219.

† Lord *Clive*'s ſpeech, page 53.

For

For his Lordſhip's expences in cloaths and linen, from ditto to ditto, ...	16,987 . 4 . 7
For wages to ſecretaries, aſſiſtants, and ſtewards, from ditto to ditto, ...	19,722 . 11 . 4
For charges of feeding five elephants, . .	941 . 14 . 0
For certain loſſes on the remittance of his Lordſhip's jagueer, ...	8,375 . 4 . 1
For plate given to the *Dutch* Governors at the *Cape of Good Hope*, and at *Chinſurah*,	2,177 . 9 . 6
For the fortune with which his Lordſhip was pleaſed to reward his faithful ſervant, *Edward Philpot*, Eſq;	14,928 . 15 . 8
Current rupees,	333,895 . 7 . 2

making, at the exchange of two ſhillings and three-pence *per* Current rupee, pounds ſterling, £ 37,563 . 5 . 2

Ditto for the following articles, exhibited in his Lordſhip's further account, laid before the * Houſe of Commons in *March* 1772, *viz.*

For ſundry charges of ſalaries, table-expences, and wearing apparel, . . .	£ 2,795 . 14 . 6	
For ſundry other expences paid in *England*,	1,846 . 5 . 7	
For other fortunes given to the following gentlemen, *viz.*		
To *Henry Strachey*, Eſq;	£ 15,942 . 16 . 11	
Edmund Maſkelyne, Eſq;	13,049 . 19 . 9	
Samuel Ingham, Eſq;	9,161 . 19 . 10	
Edward Philpot, Eſq;	2,196 . 15 . 1	
Meſſrs. *Wynne*, *Archdekin*, *Coxe*, and *Ducarell*,	3,402 . 0 . 0	
		43,753 . 11 . 7
		£ 85,958 . 16 . 10

The total amount of Lord *Clive*'s charges being eighty-five thouſand, nine hundred and fifty-eight pounds, ſixteen ſhillings and ten-pence; which is ſaid to have exceeded all the emoluments

* Lord *Clive*'s ſpeech, page 39.

reaped by his Lordſhip from the ſalt-trade, commiſſion on the revenues, preſents, and perquiſites whatever, during his ſhort excurſion to *India*, in the ſum of 5,816*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.*

By Mr. *Verelſt*'s account, which, in humble imitation of his noble predeceſſor, he has in the ſame manner recorded on the Company's books, dated the 31ſt *October* 1769, it appears, his houſe-expences, ſervants-wages, &c. from *January* 1767 to *October* 1769, both incluſive, amount to current rupees 424,554, which, at two ſhillings and three pence *per* current rupee, make, ſterling, 47,762*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* This (within rupees 404 . 12 . 5) was juſt equal to the commiſſion alſo taken by Mr. *Verelſt* from the Company's revenues, excluſive of the other emoluments and preſents received by him; which, by his account referred to, are all made to amount to the ſum of current rupees 398,062 . 14 . 2.

By Colonel *Smith*'s * account, dated the 9th *November* 1769, it appears he gave away in preſents, which he condeſcended to confer on the Grand Monarch of the *Mogul* Empire, and on other Kings, Princes, Potentates, and † *Grandees of* Hindoſtan, *with whom he had had long and intimate connexions*, Sunott rupees . . 124,606 . 0 . 0

And the Colonel's table-expences, from the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1766, to the 1ſt of *Auguſt* 1769, are ſet down at . . . . . 187,200 . 0 . 0

Sunott rupees	311,806	0	0
Exchange at 11 *per cent.* . .	34,298	10	6
Current rupees	346,104	10	6
Making, at 2*s.* 3*d.* *per* current rupee, ſterling,	£ 38,936	15	3

The next proofs of œconomy we will ſelect from the revenue-department: among which the firſt are the charges ſtanding on the Company's books under the extraordinary titles, in *Perſian*, of ZEAFFUT INGREZ SAHEBAAN and KHELAAT, which may be truly tranſlated, *charges of convivial* ‡ *entertainments and maſquerade-dreſſes*

* Reports, vol. IV. page 589.

† Colonel *Smith*'s expreſſion in his letter of the 19th *May* 1769, Appendix, page 196.

‡ Here the reader will naturally reflect upon the condition of the ſubjugated *Aſiatic* provinces under the *Romans*, during the luxurious and degenerated ſtages of that empire. In *Plutarch*'s Life of *Mark Anthony* we read, "that he gave his cook the houſe of a "*Magnetian* citizen, for dreſſing his ſupper well." But when he burthened *Aſia* with doubling

dreſſes for Engliſh *gentlemen:* and alſo under the head of RUSSUM, or *cuſtom.*

The charges under theſe diſguiſed titles ſtand as follow:

April 1766.

ZEAFFUT, or the head of entertainments, Sicca rupees . . . . . * 45,373 . 2 . 5

April 1767.

KHELAATS, or the head of dreſſes, for Lord *Clive*, Mr. *Sumner*, General *Carnac*, Mr. *Harry Verelſt*, Mr. *Francis Sykes*, Mr. *Randolph Marriott*, Mr. *Hugh Watts*, Mr. *Claud Ruſſell*, Mr. *William Alderſey*, Mr. *Thomas Kelſall*, Mr. *Charles Ffloyer*, a gentleman unknown, Mr. *Edmund Maſkelyne*, Mr. *Alexander Campbell*, Mr. *Samuel Ingham*, Mr. *Henry Strachey*, and others, ... † 46,750 . 0 . 0

April 1768.

KHELAATS, For Mr. *Harry Verelſt*, Mr. *John Cartier*, Colonel *Richard Smith*, Mr. *Francis Sykes*, Mr. *Richard Becher*, Mr. *James Alexander*, Mr. *Claud Ruſſell*, Mr. *William Alderſey*, Mr. *Charles Ffloyer*, Mr. *Alexander Campbell*, Mr. *Court*, and others, ... ‡ 79,681 . 4 . 0

RUSSUM, For Mr. *Sykes*'s table, ... 24,000 . 0 . 0

For chairmen and porters, for carrying Mr. *Verelſt*, Colonel *Smith*, Mr. *Knott*, and other gentlemen, with their neceſſaries, backwards and forwards, . . 35,915 . 0 . 0

‖ 59,915 . 0 . 0

doubling the impoſt, "*Hybreas*, the agent" (or Vakeel), "for thoſe cities, made his remonſtrance in very pleaſant language, and not ungrateful to *Anthony*, ſhewing him, that ſince he thought fit to double their taxes, he would take ſome care that they might have their ſummer and autumn doubled too, that they might be in a condition to ſatisfy his demands."

* Reports, vol. III. page 451.

† Ibid. vol. IV. page 216.

‡ Ibid. page 220.

‖ Records of the Select Committee in the *India*-houſe, book Num. 27. page 267.

April 1769.

KHELAATS, For Mr. *Harry Verelſt*, Mr. *John Cartier*, Colonel *Richard Smith*, Mr. *Richard Becher*, Mr. *Francis Sykes*, Mr. *James Alexander*, Mr. *Claud Ruſſell*, Mr. *Thomas Rumbold*, Mr. *William Alderſey*, Mr. *Thomas Kelſall*, Mr. *Charles Ffloyer*, and others,		*78,535 . 4 . 0
RUSSUM, For Mr. *Sykes*'s table,	24,000 . 0 . 0	
For charges of bearers, or chairmen, to carry ſundry *Engliſh* gentlemen backwards and forwards, and for poſtmen ſtationed to carry fruits to *Calcutta*,	64,472 . 13 . 0	
		†88,472 . 13 . 0

April 1770.

KHELAATS, For Mr. *Harry Verelſt*, Mr. *John Cartier*, Colonel *Richard Smith*, Mr. *Richard Becher*, Mr. *James Alexander*, Mr. *Claud Ruſſell*, Mr. *Thomas Rumbold*, Mr. *William Alderſey*, Mr. *Thomas Kelſall*, Mr. *Charles Ffloyer*, Mr. *Robert Maddiſon*, and others,		‡84,657 . 12 . 0
RUSSUM, For Mr. *Becher*'s table,	24,000 . 0 . 0	
For chairmen carrying ſundry *Engliſh* gentlemen backwards and forwards,	28,709 . 15 . 0	
		‖52,709 . 15 . 0
Sicca rupees		536,095 . 2 . 5
Exchange at 16 *per cent.*		85,775 . 3 . 7
Total current rupees		621,870 . 6 . 0
Or at two ſhillings and three pence	*£. ſt.*	69,543 . 15 . 3

* Reports, vol. IV. page 224.
† Ibid. page 233.
‡ Ibid. page 228.
‖ Ibid. page 234.

The

The few articles already before us, exhibited at one view, appear as follow:

1766, *Dec.*	To amount of *the bills made* by Lord *Clive*,	£ 85,958 . 16 . 10	
1769, *Oct.*	To ditto —— by Mr. *Verelſt*,	47,762 . 6 . 6	
Nov.	To ditto —— by General *Smith*,	38,936 . 15 . 3	
1770, *April.*	To ditto —— by the *Durbar* Reſident and members of the Select Committee, &c. for charges of *Aſiatic* dreſſes, entertainments, and travelling excurſions, for themſelves and friends, . .	69,543 . 15 . 0	
		£ 242,201 . 13 . 7	

Facility in the operations of arithmetic, and in the auditing of accounts, was not the leaſt of the happy effects of that unanimity at the public boards, which had been ſo frequently and *deſervedly* celebrated by Lord *Clive*, Mr. *Verelſt*, and the reſt of the Select Committee at *Calcutta*. Not only the charges of theſe extraordinary accounts were paſſed without the neceſſary vouchers, but his Lordſhip and Mr. *Verelſt* were ſuffered, equally uncontrouled, to fix their own value upon the pearls, rubies, emeralds, and diamonds, which they were pleaſed to inſert in thoſe accounts, as received in preſents. As to General *Smith*'s account, it had heretofore been the practice of the Princes of *India* to return to the *Engliſh Sirdárs* three times the value of what they received in complimentary preſents; but from the reſpective accounts of Governor *Verelſt* and the General it would ſeem, that their notions of ſupporting *the Honourable Company's dignity* were diametrically oppoſite; for while the parſimonious Governor appears to have conferred nothing upon the country-princes, the diſtinguiſhed General appears to have been above receiving any thing from them on the Company's account.

The reports now before the Houſe of Commons afford many other proofs of the ſame ſpecies of *œconomy* in the *Bengal* government, after the aſſumption of the *Dewannee*, from the years 1765 to 1770 incluſive: during which period we have many inſtances of conſiderable ſums being alienated from the Company's eſtate, or revenues, and given, without due authority, to the dependants of gentlemen of power or influence. Of this kind appear even many very conſiderable

ble *jagueers*, granted to a variety of people, from the nominal Nabob's * deputy, *Mahommed Reza Khawn*, down even to General *Smith*'s † banyan. Of this ſort appears alſo the penſion of eighteen thouſand rupees *per annum*, collected in the *Bahar* province, by the ſingle ‡ appointment of Lord *Clive*, for *Ahmed Yar Khawn Laitty*; concerning which, when Mr. *Verelſt*'s ſucceſſor and the Select Committee inquired of the Superviſor of that province, on what pretence *a ſeparate collection* was made for that ſum, all that Mr. *Alexander* could learn was, that *Laitty* was a man of diſtinction, whoſe houſe and family had been plundered || by the Nabob *Jaffier Ally Khawn*. And of this kind alſo appears the remiſſion of duties upon a large quantity of ſalt, to the amount of 47,769 rupees, *by order of the Nabob*, to *Joynarain* § *Ghoſaul*, without any reaſon's being aſſigned for it.

While meaſures ſimilar to theſe were tranſacted in every part of the provinces UNDER THE COUNTRY-GOVERNMENT, it was not extraordinary that the Court of *Eaſt India* Directors ſhould ſoon experience, that ¶ "*the* Dewannee-*collections ſcarce anſwered any other* "*purpoſe than defraying the civil and military charges of their Preſidency* "*of* Bengal." But this ſort of buſineſs being for a long while kept under the management of the Preſident and members of the Secret Committee, and the Directors being neceſſarily unacquainted with the diſguiſed or real names and connexions of the perſons mentioned in the records which the Committee were pleaſed to tranſmit from *India*; of courſe that Court have been frequently as deſtitute of materials wherewith to trace a fact, or check deceptions of this ſort, as if no accounts had been ſent them. For example, when they ſaw tranſactions of ſuch a nature upon their books, how could they divine,

* Reports, vol. IV. pages 104, 133, 134, *&c. &c.*

† Ibid. page 146. Fifty villages, granted in the name of *Roy Kellaram*, called in the upper country *Roy Kheyalleram*.

‡ Reports, vol. IV. pages 250 and 251.

|| Mr. *Alexander* had been miſinformed; for it was *Khoda Yar Khawn Laitty* whom *Meer Jaffier* plundered.

§ Reports, vol. IV. page 211. Inſtead of 30 rupees *per* hundred maunds of ſalt, he paid only 9½ *per cent.*

On one article of . .	Maunds	150,000
one ditto		18,015
one ditto		65,007
	Maunds	233,022: Which, at an abatement of 20½ *per cent.* makes rupees 47,769.

¶ Appendix A. page 266.

that

that the before-mentioned *Laitty* was the brother of the late * *Khoda Yar Khawn Laitty*, who was *Meer Jaffier*'s rival candidate for the *Muſnud*, upon the expulſion of the Nabob *Serajah al Dowlah*? How could they conjecture, that *Joynarain Ghoſaul* was a child, and the ſon of Mr. *Verelſt*'s banyan *Gocul Ghoſaul*? Or how could they gueſs, that *Roy Kellaram* was banyan to General *Smith*?

Correſpondent with this unneceſſary and unwarranted profuſion, while *Bengal* was governed by this *pious* Committee of Reformers, was the frequency of public viſits, embaſſies, or deputations to and from the Princes and *Miniſters* of the country: the moſt notorious tranſaction of which kind was the excurſion of Mr. *John Cartier*, Colonel *Richard Smith*, and Mr. *Claud Ruſſell*, in *November* 1768, to the Court of the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*. It was pretended, for the purpoſes of this EMBASSY, that this Prince was meditating † hoſtilities againſt the *Engliſh*: and thoſe ‡ "*unbecoming rumours*," which were propagated principally, if not ſolely, by Colonel *Smith*'s ‖ letters to the Preſidency, were at length made the wonderful baſis of a new treaty, whereby that Nabob was reſtricted to a number of forces, which we have the beſt authority for aſſerting he had, in fact, never on foot. At a time when the Preſident and Select Committee were conſtantly complaining to the Directors of the low ſtate of the Company's finances, near four lacks of rupees were diſſipated, upon this *deputation*, as preſents neceſſary for ſupporting *the honour of the* § *Company*; whoſe dignity was again, on this occaſion, ſo punctiliouſly conſidered, that no returns were received, by the Deputies, on the Company's account.

If the proofs already adduced be not deemed ſufficient in the opinion of any impartial reader, to ſet in a true light the real demerits

* This is the man mentioned by Mr. *William Watts* as a conſiderable perſon, who had offered himſelf as Nabob, but who was rejected by Colonel *Clive*, in favour of *Meer Jaffier*, "as his abilities were greater, his reputation better, and his connexions more exten-"ſive than thoſe of *Laitty*." See *Memoirs of the Revolution in* Bengal, *Anno* 1757, printed for *A. Millar*, 1764, pages 71 and 76.

† Mr. *Verelſt* was well convinced of *Sujah al Dowlah*'s peaceable diſpoſition at that time. See Appendix A. Num. XL. page 195.

‡ See the treaty, with the Committee's exalted account of this deputation, Reports, vol. IV. page 87.

‖ See a letter from the Select Committee to Colonel *Richard Smith*, Commander in Chief *under the Preſidency*. Dated the 23d *February* 1768. Appendix A. Num. XVIII. page 363.

§ The Court of Directors appear to have ſeen through this farce. *Vide* the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th paragraphs of their letter of the 23d *March* 1770. Appendix A. Num. XLV. pages 225 and 226.

of thoſe ſelf-applauding Committees, on the points of abuſe of authority in their public ſtations, iniquitous deceptions and concealments, and profuſion of the public money; let him peruſe the 4th * report of the Secret Committee of the Houſe of Commons, on the ſubject of the celebrated MATOOT. He will there ſee a tax eſtabliſhed that was unlimited in it's extent, becauſe the conſciences of the collectors were the only meaſures of it's neceſſity; and inſcrutable in it's operations, becauſe their own accounts were the only checks upon the collections. He will there ſee large ſums acknowledged to have been collected by a mode deſtructive of the manufactories and agriculture of the country, and productive of ſuch ſcenes of iniquity, oppreſſion, and peculation, as are beyond deſcription; while the harmleſs ſubjected inhabitants, deprived of the protection of their native Princes, have had no other recourſe left them, but to heaven, for juſtice: and he will likewiſe there diſcover, that this wicked mode of collection was originally † eſtabliſhed by Lord *Clive* and the Select Committee.

But the *Matoot-collection* was continued and increaſed to an amazing extent after his Lordſhip's departure; and from the ſums thereby levied upon the poor natives, were diſcharged the debts which had been contracted at the *Durbar*, for the charges of the dreſſes and entertainments of *Engliſh* gentlemen, under the heads already noticed of *Zeaffut*, *Khelaat*, and *Ruſſum*; while the accounts of thoſe extraordinary charges were induſtriouſly concealed from the knowledge of the Company; ariſing, as the Reſident at the *Durbar* apprehended, ‡ "from the fear the gentlemen of the Select Committee had, that "the Company would not permit ſuch an expence to be kept up at "the *Poonĕa*; notwithſtanding it was deemed ſo *neceſſary in the eyes "of the country-people, and always held in the utmoſt veneration.*"

It would be an endleſs taſk to follow the late Preſidents and Select Committees of *Calcutta* through the labyrinths of contradiction, inconſiſtency, and wilful deception which they practiſed to obtain unmerited honours and emolument to themſelves, while they impoſed upon fluctuating and ignorant Courts of Directors, to the injury of the *Eaſt India* Proprietors and the Public, and to the diſhonour and prejudice of their fellow-ſervants. The reader hath ſeen, in this chapter, ſome of the many *righteous* means by which *Bengal* was governed under their adminiſtration; and the operative effects

* Reports, vol. IV. pages 110, &c.
† Ibid. page 214.
‡ Ibid.

of that government have been ſhewn, by the teſtimony, on record, of thoſe moſt concerned in it, to have been no other than the ſudden reduction of a whole nation from a high pitch of affluence and proſperity, to the loweſt degree of miſery.

What then will be the ſenſations of his benevolent mind, when, upon the ſame records, he ſees thoſe effects deſcribed to have been produced by counſels and regulations founded on the moſt conſummate wiſdom and juſtice?—Yet ſuch were the repreſentations which, in the midſt of the diſtreſſes of their ruined country, the poor tools of Nabobs were forced to give, while * "*the mouths of every body* "*were full of the praiſes of the Governor and Gentlemen of the Council,* "*for their judicious and upright management of the affairs of the Em-*"*pire, and their regard for the welfare of it's inhabitants!*"

* See two letters from *Seyf al Dowlah* and *Mahommed Reza Khawn*, as recorded by Mr. *Verelſt* on Conſultation the 27th *December* 1768. Appendix B. Num. XXIX. and Num. XXX. pages 298 and 299.

CHAP. XI.

On the POLITICAL SYSTEM of the COMPANY, and their late GOVERNING SERVANTS; with a VINDICATION of what hath been PUBLISHED by the AUTHOR, on that SUBJECT.

IN conſidering the nature of the Company's political ſyſtem in *Bengal*, it will be very material to advert to the mode in which their Governors have managed what they call the *Perſian* or country-correſpondence.

In the direction of all matters concerning the political intereſts of the Company, the correſpondence, of late years, with the Princes of *India*, has been confined ſolely to the Preſidents or Select Committees, to whom the Courts of Directors have, at different times, thought proper to entruſt the conducting of their ſyſtem. On this principle, by a fixed regulation for practice, called a ſtanding-order, in the Company's ſervice, ſuch correſpondence has been uſually carried on through the channel of the Governor only, with directions for him to lay the copies thereof before the board; and this he hath generally performed in ſuch manner, and at ſuch times, as he deemed neceſſary and convenient.

Upon this ſyſtem, it is plain, that the *Aſiatic* Princes muſt naturally look up to the Governor, as the ſole adminiſtrator of all juſtice, protection, and power under the Company; contrary to every principle of a *Britiſh* government. And the Governor being under little or no controul, in this buſineſs, the board at *Calcutta*, or the Directors in *England*, have never had any ſtronger check than his integrity for their ſecurity in obtaining any knowledge of the ſtate of the negociations with the country-powers, on which their all depended.

This ſort of excluſive communication was ever found by the Company's Governors in *India*, to be the grand ſource of their private emoluments; and however neceſſary or expedient the Company's ſtanding-order, on this point, might at firſt appear, yet there were never ſufficient checks eſtabliſhed in a buſineſs of ſuch moment to their own proſperity, and to the welfare of the natives of *India*.

The tranſactions of the Company's ruling ſervants, from the firſt period of their interfering with the politics of *India*, have at all times afforded ſufficient experience of the neceſſity of ſuch checks. But to furniſh the candid reader, from the tranſactions of more modern times, with materials to aſſiſt his judgment on this ſubject, we beg leave to direct his eye to the Reports of the Houſe of Commons. He will therein perceive, that the abuſe of this excluſive privilege of communication with the Nabob and his officers was what principally provoked the reſentment of * *Serajah al Dowlah*, which, in *June* 1756, brought on the loſs of *Calcutta*. At this period, Mr. *William Watts*, the Company's chief at *Coſſimbazar*, was their political negociator at the *Durbar* at *Murſhedabad*, where, under the auſpices of the noble Lord *Clive*, he conducted that conſpiracy which, in 1757, terminated in the expulſion of the Nabob, and the acquiſition of the noble Lord's jagueer. His Lordſhip hath informed the Houſe of Commons, that Mr. *Watts* † employed two or three months in the negociation of that revolution, and that the correſpondence was carried on entirely between himſelf and Mr. *Watts*. And although there never was a criſis in which it was ſo requiſite for the Company to be acquainted with the proceedings of their ruling ſervants, it appears, by the ſame evidence, that the intercourſe which had been ſo carried on in cypher, between the Preſident and the Reſident at the *Durbar*, "was not entered in the "*country-correſpondence*, or any where elſe."

By this ſuppreſſion, ‡ "the Company were left entirely in the "dark with reſpect to more than a whole year's tranſactions" of the greateſt moment. But, what is more extraordinary, ſuch papers as Lord *Clive* did poſſeſs, he did not think himſelf under an obligation to produce, as § not relating to the commercial affairs of his conſtituents, whoſe dependance, according to his Lordſhip's ideas, at the time which thoſe papers related to, was transferred from the *Indian* government, to a dependance upon || himſelf.

* Journals of the Houſe of Commons, vol. XXXIII. pages 794, 868, &c.

† Ibid. page 804.

‡ See Mr. Secretary *James*'s letter to Lord *Clive*, of the 12th *Auguſt* 1763. Ibid. page 877.

§ Ibid.

|| When the patent of the jagueer was put into Lord *Clive*'s hands by *Juggut Seat*, in the preſence of Mr. *Francis Sykes*, Mr. *Luke Scrafton*, and Major *Carnac*, his Lordſhip ſays——". I confeſs it gave me the greater pleaſure to find it to be the Lordſhip "of the Company's lands, becauſe the Company was thereby freed from all dependance "on *the government*." See Lord *Clive*'s letter to the Proprietors, printed for *J. Nourſe*, 1764; reprinted by *H. Evans*, pages 34 and 36.

After

After the revolution of the year 1760, in favour of *Meer Coſſim*, and during the negociations which led to the reſtoration of *Meer Jaffier*, the gentlemen of the Council, guided by the experience of what had paſſed, would not implicitly truſt to this excluſive correſpondence of the Preſident; and, therefore, at a * conſultation held the 7th *March* 1763, the letters to *Meer Coſſim* were drawn up from the reſolutions of the Council, and approved by the board, before the Preſident was permitted to tranſmit them, under his ſeal, to that Nabob. But, notwithſtanding all this precaution, the Court of Directors, in their letter of the 24th *December* 1765, complained to their Preſident and Council, of groſs ſuppreſſions in the country-correſpondence, and that the copies thereof, which were ſent home, were evidently † unfaithful regiſters.

The intelligent reader will, therefore, readily conceive, the real cauſe of that jealouſy which the Company's Governors have ever ſhewn at any perſon's correſponding with the officers of the country-government except through themſelves, although the objections oſtenſibly urged againſt ſuch correſpondence have been, that it was contrary to the *ſtanding-order* of the Company, a degradation of the Preſident's dignity, or an interference with his official department.

The noble Lord *Clive*, who, in the tranſactions of his own and other preceding governments in *Bengal*, had ſeen and experienced the good effects of this excluſive communication, was *bleſſed* with a Committee who were the firſt to give examples, to their fellow-ſervants, of that unanimity, ſelf-denial, humility, and diſintereſtedneſs, which his Lordſhip deemed eſſential to the *welfare of the ſervice*. They well knew that the beſt ſecurity of virtue is to avoid temptation, and, therefore, within leſs than a month after their arrival at *Calcutta*, taking into conſideration the many attempts which had been made to deſtroy the unanimity, and *corrupt the integrity* of the members of the Committee, through the influence of ill-diſpoſed perſons, they reſolved, ‡ "that all intercourſe with the "Nabob, his miniſters, and the country-powers, ſhould be con-"ducted *by the Right Honourable Preſident*, as the moſt effectual "method to convince thoſe ill-diſpoſed perſons, that no motives of

* Reports, vol. III. page 493.

† Ibid. vol. IV. page 126.

‡ See the Select Committee proceedings of the 5th *June* 1765; at which were preſent, Lord *Clive*, Mr. *Sumner*, Mr. *Verelſt*, and Mr. *Sykes*. Reports, vol. III. page 410.

"private advantage, nor desire of increasing their fortunes, could "ever seduce the members of that board from the duty they owed "to themselves, *the confidence they reposed in each other*, or the steady "resolution they had formed to pursue every method that tended to "promote the Company's interest, or the peace, prosperity, and "happiness of the country."

When all communication was thus concentred in the Governors and Commanders in Chief of the Company's armies, they thereby possessed a wonderful facility in turning all transactions with the *country-powers* to the advantage of the Company, and the happiness of the community; and in such situations they have at all times found it as easy to negociate a revolution, *to secure the commercial interests of the Company*, as a jagueer *to free them from dependance on the country-government*; while, by a turn of the pen, of equal facility in *Persian* stenography, a loan could be changed into a donation, or a donation into a legacy, which, when other transmutations became inexpedient, might be converted into a fund for the maintenance of invalid or superannuated officers and their widows!

But if Mr. *Verelst* had not so violently attacked the veracity of the author of *Considerations*, &c. and, in support of the merits of the late Presidents and Select Committees of *Bengal*, expressly undertaken to * "demolish his representation of political transactions, by "proving those acts of the Select Committee to have flowed from "a sense of duty and knowledge of the public interest, which that "gentleman has attributed to malignant passions, or to yet meaner "motives," many of those transactions might have passed unnoticed, which have now been necessarily dragged forth to public view.

The grand source of the military operations, and, eventually, of the ambition of *Europeans*, of late years, in *India*, was the dissolution, in effect, of the Mogul Empire by the invasion of *Nader Shah*; who so weakened and impoverished the government at *Dehly*, as to furnish to its provincial substitutes, easy opportunities for assuming independency. This had become the case in *Bengal*; and it hath been clearly shewn, to have been the same in the other provinces, by many other writers, as well as the author of *Considerations on* India *Affairs*, whom Mr. *Verelst* affects particularly to answer.

After the *Portuguese*, the *French* first entertained ideas of making territorial acquisitions on the continent of *India*; and Mr. *Verelst*

* *Verelst*'s View, page 2.

himself

himself acknowledges, that "the * ambition of the *French* firſt "drew the *Engliſh* into the field."——Such a project having been framed by the rival of *Great Britain* in *Aſia*, and her natural enemy in *Europe*, a war breaking out between the two kingdoms muſt have immediately directed the attention of the *French* towards the ruining of the *Britiſh* influence and power in *India*; and to the deſtruction of the *Engliſh Eaſt India* Company, on any favourable occaſion, as their moſt powerful *European* rival on that continent. The war, therefore, begun in *Europe* was not ſo much the cauſe of, as the occaſion furniſhed for, their making attacks on the *Engliſh* Company's ſettlements, in purſuit of their premeditated plan of power to be eſtabliſhed in *Aſia*.

The imbecility of the revolted provinces offered ſo ſtrong a temptation to attempt the accompliſhment of ſuch a ſcheme, that even before any advices were received of the ſucceſſes of the *French* on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, under Monſieur *Dupleix*, two *Britiſh* ſubjects, *James Mill* and *John Acton*, in the ſervice of the late Emperor of *Germany*, had formed the plan of landing in *Bengal*, and afterwards of marching to *Murſhedabad*, dethroning the reigning Nabob, poſſeſſing themſelves of his treaſure which they then eſtimated at an incredible ſum, and of placing another Nabob on the *Muſnud*. *Mill* and *Acton* obtained a commiſſion under the great ſeal of the Empire, empowering them to fit out a ſufficient number of ſhips in a warlike manner, to proceed to *Bengal* and there take poſſeſſion of the ſettlement that had been before obtained for the *Oſtend* Company, at *Bankibazar*; under ſanction of which enterprize, they propoſed to carry their further plan into execution.

In conſequence of his Imperial Majeſty's commiſſion, in the year 1746, three ſhips were actually fitted out in the *Thames*, *viz.* the *Cumberland* and *Kingſton* of 36 guns each, and the *Hardwick* of 40, under the command of *Acton*; and a corps of 550 men, ſelected from the Imperial army, with a train of artillery, were ready to embark at *Legborn*, in ſhips prepared to carry them to the iſland of *Madeira*, where ſtores were ſent for them from *England*. The ſcheme, however, being defeated, in the moment as it were for execution, by government's interfering in a manner that had like to have been productive of a war, Colonel *Mill* afterwards propoſed that *England* ſhould join with the Emperor in the expedition; and with fifteen hundred, or two thouſand troops, he undertook to

* *Vereſt*'s View, page 44.

anſwer

anſwer for its ſucceſs, at the riſk of his head; as appears by his two memoirs, copies of which, from an original manuſcript, are given in the * Appendix.

Although this propoſal was not then accepted, either by the *Eaſt India* Company or government, yet the revolution which took place in *Bengal*, ten years afterwards, was effected on a plan preciſely ſimilar to that which had been the fruitleſs object of Colonel *Mill*'s ambition.

With reſpect to the pretences which were then urged, by the ſervants of the Company, to juſtify their ſo changing the Company's commercial for a military ſyſtem, in *Bengal*; it is beyond a doubt, that the abuſes and intrigues of *Europeans* in general, and of the *Engliſh* Company's ſervants in particular, inſtigated the Nabob, *Serajah al Dowlah*, to attempt the capture of *Calcutta*, in 1756, wherein he ſo well ſucceeded: for long before that period, or the protection given to † *Rajahbullub*'s family, the Company's records had abounded with inſtances of ſuch practices as could not be reaſonably expected to be tolerated in a dependent and protected ſet of men under any government whatever. So early as *March* 1757, as hath been ſhewn in another place, we ſee the Court of Directors were themſelves inclined to ſet the Prince of the country at defiance, by encouraging their Preſident and Council at *Bengal*, upon their own repreſentations, to ſhelter the effects and perſons of the ‡ natives with ſteadineſs and reſolution, in order not to render *their protection* ineffectual, and thereby ſubject *the* Engliſh *flag* to contempt. And even Mr. *Vereliſt*, after mentioning the re-taking of *Calcutta*, by Admiral *Watſon* and Colonel *Clive*, and the re-eſtabliſhment of peace between the Nabob and the Company, proceeds as follows:

§ "Certain intelligence was afterwards received of *Serajah al* "*Dowlah*'s deſign to extirpate the *Engliſh*, whenever *our forces* "ſhould return to the coaſt. Hoſtilities, therefore, again com- "menced. The nature of the government, the character of the "Prince, and the univerſal diſtruſt which from theſe cauſes pre- "vailed, afforded abundant occaſions of intrigue; and enabled Mr. "*Watts* and Colonel *Clive*, to whom the whole conduct of this "buſineſs was committed, to cheriſh a diſaffection, which pre-

* Vide Appendix A. Numbers IV. and V. pages 15 and 16.

† See a letter from *Richard Becher*, *Luke Scrafton*, and others, dated at *Dacca* the 18th *July* 1756. Journals, vol. XXXIII. page 866.

‡ Reports, vol. III. page 479.

§ *Vereliſt*'s View, page 44.

" vented any effectual meaſures for defence, on the part of the " Nabob. Our army advanced within thirty miles of the capital " unaſſured of aſſiſtance; but a want of confidence in the enemy's " camp, with the advantageous ſituation of the *Engliſh*, afforded an " eaſy victory to a handful of troops; and *Meer Jaffier*, in pur- " ſuance of a previous treaty, was immediately proclaimed Subah- " dar of *Bengal*." And in another place——* " The malice of " Mr. *Bolts* does not reſt here. He repreſents this revolution as " an enterprize of no difficulty. Speaking of the battle of *Plaſſey*, " he ſays, " Happy it was for the Company, that this numerous " army" (of 20,000 horſe, 50,000 foot, and 50 pieces of heavy cannon) " made ſo little reſiſtance, that according to Mr. *Scraſton*, " there were only ſeventy men killed and wounded."

Had not *the whole conduct of this buſineſs* been induſtriouſly committed to ſo few hands; had not Mr. *William Watts* himſelf been the principal † hiſtoriographer of this celebrated revolution; had not the Company's *Perſian* and country-correſpondence relative thereto been loſt, or ſuppreſſed; had not the evidence before the public been of parties, ſharers in the plunder, and deeply intereſted in obliterating facts; or had we the teſtimony of *Serajah al Dowlah*, *Omichund*, and other natives to oppoſe to ſuch evidence, the truth might have been diſcovered with leſs difficulty. Here, we have Mr. *Vereſt*'s word for the certainty of the Nabob's deſign to extirpate the *Engliſh*, when occaſion ſhould offer; but at the ſame time we have the more certain information, that the ſervants of a trading community, living under the protection of an *Indian* government, uninſtructed by their employers, and when defenſive operations would have been moſt equitable; did violate the peace ſtipulated with that government; did enter into intrigues to promote treachery and diſaffection among its chief officers; did march an army to overturn it, which was by treachery effected; did ſeat on the *Muſnud* the very officer who had been ſeduced to betray and ruin his Prince, and did then, *honourably*, divide the plunder with that traitor.

So far was the ſcheme, ſimilar to Colonel *Mill*'s, purſued to completion; and ſuch, fairly ſifted from the duſt of diſguiſe, is Mr. *Vereſt*'s and every other account of the firſt riſe of the preſent government in *Bengal*; the progreſs of which, over all *India*, to this

* *Vereſt*'s View, *&c.* page 17.

† Memoirs of the revolution in *Bengal* 1757. *London*, printed for *A. Millar*, 1764.

day,

day, has been the ſetting up or pulling down of Nabobs, for the convenience of the Company or their ſervants: the laſt unfledged youth of the family in *Bengal* being now in poſſeſſion of a ruling title without power, and with little income, for the ſole purpoſe of giving pretences to a trading community, under colour of his mock authority, to practiſe ſuch acts of tyranny, oppreſſion, or rapine, as may be found ſafe, or expedient, under the convenient ſyſtem of the preſent DOUBLE GOVERNMENT.

With reſpect to the writer's account of the battle of *Plaſſey*, what he ſaid thereon is ſtrictly ſupported, not only by the authority of Mr. *Scrafton*, whom he quoted, but by the evidence that was given before the Select Committee of the Houſe of Commons, in *May* 1772; and particularly by the deſcription of the battle that was there read by Sir *Eyre Coote*.——It was not the writer's intention to examine into the merits of that battle; but ſince he is ſo publicly called upon, he muſt as openly aſſert the truth, grounded on the well known facts attending it;——that the plains of *Plaſſey*, on the 23d of *June* 1757, exhibited a ſcene of treachery and rebellious rout; and not of a conteſted and glorious victory, that could of itſelf be juſtly made the illuſtrious foundation of an *Engliſh* barony, in whatever light it may have been repreſented to impoſe on the Sovereign and the people of this nation. At the ſame time it may be allowed, that the very marching with a handful of men, to meet ſo numerous an army, as acknowledged by the author of * *Conſiderations*, while there was a poſſibility of the rebels returning to their duty, was certainly a hazardous enterprize; and had the battle been won while the Right Honourable Baron had been aſleep, the writer would have been as ready as any other man to do juſtice to the merits of a heaven-born general; ſince none but the enemies of the human ſpecies can be offended at a battle's being gained with little trouble, reſiſtance, or bloodſhed.

We will now employ a few conſiderations on the late ſituation and dignified character of SHAH ALLUM, the MOGUL EMPEROR, who, we are ſorry to ſay, has not been treated with greater faith, or uſed for purpoſes leſs unworthy, than the late Nabobs of *Bengal*. Yet had not † Mr. *Verelſt* and Colonel ‡ *Richard Smith* alſo particularly called the writer forth on this ſubject, he would will-

* *Conſiderations*, &c. vol. I. page 40.
† *Verelſt*'s View, page 19. *&c.*
‡ See Appendix F. Num. XL. page 530.

ingly have refrained from further expoſing the misfortunes of that poor, impoveriſhed, abuſed, and deluded Prince.

In his * memorial to the Directors, of the 5th *September* 1768, the writer had ſpoken of this Emperor's being, "*as it were, a pri-* "*ſoner in the camp,*" when Colonel *Smith*, at the head of the Company's army, had received a *teep* from him for two hundred thouſand rupees, and could not perſuade his Majeſty to take it back, on the Governor and Council's refuſing their concurrence for his receiving the money. The Colonel's indignation being rouſed on this occaſion, on the 19th *September* 1768, he entered a minute on the conſultations, in terms highly characteriſtic of the man, wherein, interpreting the above expreſſion to mean a charge, that he had actually impriſoned the perſon of the EMPEROR, SHAH ALLUM, he declared the aſſertion to be *an infamous falſhood; and that he was only ſurprized the writer had* † *invented nothing worſe againſt him.*

The Select Committee, in *June* 1765, had declared, in expreſs terms, that this Prince was ‡ "dependent on their bounty; and "that his whole hopes, not only of protection, but *even of ſubſiſtance,* "reſted upon them."——And Colonel *Alexander Dow*, who, from a perſonal attachment, ſpeaks as partially of him as any man can do, thus deſcribes his ſituation to have been at that period.——— § "He keeps the poor reſemblance of a court at *Illahabad*, where "a few Omrahs, in hopes of better days to their Prince, having "expended their fortunes in his ſervice, ſtill exiſt the ragged pen- "ſioners of his poverty, and burden his gratitude with their pre- "ſence."—The Court of Directors alſo, in expreſſing their diſapprobation of this tranſaction of the *teep*, frankly acknowledge the poverty of SHAH ALLUM, and that, of all the Princes of the Eaſt, he was the ‖ leaſt capable of affording to make preſents.——But to ſhew what degree of liberty SHAH ALLUM was deemed to poſſeſs, the reader muſt be informed, that in *April* 1768, when his Imperial Majeſty entertained thoughts of proceeding up the country, the gentleman who, in Colonel *Smith*'s abſence, commanded the brigade ſtationed *for this King's protection*, actually demanded inſtructions from the Secret Committee at *Calcutta*, ¶ "*how far he was*

* Appendix F. Num. XXXII. page 507.
† Ibid. page 530.
‡ Select Committee, 21ſt *June* 1765. Reports, vol. III. page 423.
§ *Dow's Hindoſtan*, vol. II. page 392.
‖ Appendix A. page 192.
¶ Letter from Sir *Robert Barker* to the Select Committee of the 3d *April* 1768.

"*to*

" *to be anſwerable for his Majeſty's perſon, and how he was to act,* " *ſhould his Majeſty take any* INDISCREET STEP, AND TALK OF " LEAVING ILLAHABAD?"

We will admit, that this Prince was ſeated with much pomp on a *Muſnud*, approached bare-foot, and addreſſed with great veneration. So we read, the *Iſraelites*, of old, adored a golden calf, which they themſelves had exalted. But it is ſubmitted to the judgment of the unprejudiced reader, from the facts now before him, whether there was any impropriety in the writer's expreſſion, that *Shah Allum*, at the time mentioned, " was, as it were, a pri- " ſoner in the" *Engliſh* Company's " camp?"

It was this Prince on whom the provinces of *Korah* and *Illahabad* were conferred, * " *his poſſeſſions being guarantied by the* Engliſh, " to which was likewiſe added an annual payment of twenty-ſix " lacks from *Bengal*;" and who was thereby placed in a ſituation to confirm Lord *Clive*'s jagueer, as related by the author of † *Conſiderations*, &c. and to ſhew ſuch deſerved marks of gratitude and generoſity to the Generals *Carnac* and *Smith*, as are mentioned by ‡ Mr. *Verelſt*; who, with the Council, in *July* 1767, informed his Imperial Majeſty, § " *that they earneſtly wiſhed their attachment* " *might appear to the world more connected by honour than by any in-* " *tereſted tye*; as it was moſt glorious for him, and moſt reputable " to themſelves, to have a friendſhip founded on ſuch a baſis."

But it was this Prince who had alſo been deſcribed, on the records of the ſame Select Committee, in *July* 1766, in the following, among other words: ‖ " Surrounded by the meaneſt of " knaves and ſycophants, he is ever ready to follow their advice, " even though it be to the detriment of his *late benefactors*.—— " Every day's experience convinces us, that it is not the Company's " intereſt to maintain any connexion with a man ſo weak in un- " derſtanding, and ſo very deficient in the principles of honour and " gratitude.—Provided he withdrew himſelf from *our protection*, it " is no great matter *what refuge he ſeeks*."

* *Verelſt*'s View, &c. page 18.
† *Conſiderations*, &c. vol. I. page 50.
‡ *Verelſt*'s View, page 19. Alſo Appendix B. Num. II. page 287.
§ Ibid. note page 20.
‖ Letter from Lord *Clive* and General *Carnac* to Mr. *Verelſt* and the Select Committee at *Calcutta*, dated the 14th *July* 1766.

It was likewiſe this Prince who was to be deprived of the annual ſtipend of twenty-ſix lacks, which had, in fact, been conferred on him for the temporary uſes of his name, as ſoon as a fair opportunity could be found, by the expreſs * inſtructions, in *November* 1768, of the Court of Directors; who, in *April* 1771, further † recommended to their Preſident and Council, to fix his IMPERIAL MAJESTY's reſidence within their own provinces.——It was, laſtly, this MOGUL EMPEROR who, by proceeding to the ancient capital, *Dehly*, avoided the royal apartments that would otherwiſe have been prepared for him, agreeably to the *recommendations* of the Directors, at *Ragemahl*, or *Mongheer*; and who, for *taking the indiſcreet ſtep of leaving* Illahabad, has been finally chaſtiſed by the Company and their ſervants, firſt, in their with-holding his ſaid annual ſtipend, and, afterwards, by depriving him of the provinces of *Korah* and *Illahabad*, and giving them, for a pecuniary gratification, to *his Vizier*, the Nabob *Sujah al Dowlah*.

The reader, therefore, who impartially conſiders the facts herein related and proved, can no longer doubt what the author of *Conſiderations* hath aſſerted; ‡ "that his IMPERIAL MAJESTY was dependent for his ſubſiſtence upon the ſervants of an incorporated ſociety of *Engliſh* merchants, who had raiſed him to that exalted title for the ſerving of their own temporary purpoſes; that he was no other than their tool; and would neceſſarily remain ſuch, ſo long as he continued among them; and that the § pretence of governing *Bengal* by a NABOB, under ſuch a GREAT MOGUL, was a moſt ſcandalous impoſition; thoſe puppets of ſovereignty, being no other than penſioned inſtruments of impoſture and tyranny; while the annual charges incurred under their clokes have been made, in no inconſiderable degree, a fund in reverſion, for the private purſes of the governing *Europeans* in thoſe countries."

So long as it ſerved their purpoſes, it was not wonderful that the Company, or ſuch of their ſervants as have had this Prince, in the character of Mogul Emperor, under their management, ſhould hold him out as a potent and independent Sovereign; for, otherwiſe, what would become of his dewannee-ſunnuds, grants of

* See the 33d paragraph of their letter of the 11th *November* 1768. Appendix A. page 191.

† See the 44th, 45th, and 46th paragaphs of their letter of the 10th *April* 1771. Ibid. page 256.

‡ *Conſiderations*, vol. I pages 33, 50, *&c.*

§ Ibid. page 217.

jagueers,

jagueers, *teeps*, free-gifts, or the honorary titles which have for ſome time paſt dazzled and impoſed on the weſtern world? The dignified diſguiſe of ſuch an elevated authority might ſerve to furniſh the Company's ruling-ſervants with convenient pretences for planning the ſeizure of a Prince's * dominions, or an expedition to † *Dehly*; but the impoſture was carried too far, when, under the veil of their *country*, or Perſian *correſpondence*, they made uſe of this poor, helpleſs, and deluded Prince, as a channel of familiar communication with the ‡ Sovereign of *Great Britain*.

Mr. *Verelſt* ſays, § "ſhould any private man, taking advantage "of an unſettled government, oppreſs and harraſs the harmleſs "natives of *Bengal*, and endeavour to ſhelter himſelf under the let"ter of laws calculated for a very different ſtate of ſociety; let "the *miſcreant* be puniſhed as his crimes deſerve, by *a removal* "*from the ſcene of his ravages, by the contempt and deteſtation of every* "*honeſt mind*." And again, ‖ "Mr. *Bolts* does not chuſe to in"veſtigate, in this place, all the private reaſons which occaſioned "the dewannee being aſſumed by Lord *Clive* and his Select Com"mittee.—Why not? If Mr. *Bolts* knows any private reaſons,

* See, in Reports of the Houſe of Commons, vol. IV. page 88, his Imperial Majeſty's moſt gracious anſwer to the petition of "*his loyal ſervants, the* Engliſh Sirdars," or Deputies, in *December* 1768, propoſing the recovery of the *diſmembered uſurpations* of the Rajah *Hindooput*, to be appropriated to the payment of the *Engliſh* Company's army. In this Prince's dominions, to the ſouth-weſtward of *Illahabad*, are the mines of *Chudderpoor* and *Panna*, from whence great quantities of diamonds are extracted. Had the plan been carried into execution, this precious commodity might have been found a convenient and *honourable ſuccedaneum*, by the gentlemen of the Select Committee; for, the covenants which reſtricted the receipt of preſents could, in no wiſe, have been conſtrued to reſtrain them from digging diamonds out of a mine. By the Select Committee's letter to the Directors, of the 6th *January* 1769 (See *Verelſt*'s Appendix, page 89.) it appears, that theſe territories of the Rajah *Hindooput*, if taken, would have been alſo conſidered as a convenient fund, that would have enabled *Shah Allum* "*to beſtow re*"*wards on thoſe whom he might chuſe to honour with a proviſion*;" which was certainly the primary object of the Committee's conſideration, in giving their "*hints to the Depu*"*ties*" on that buſineſs, in conſequence of a formal reſolution that had been taken at a meeting of the 31ſt *Auguſt* 1768. See alſo Appendix A. Num. XXXVII. page 183.

† See General *Smith*'s letter to the Select Committee of the 1ſt *May* 1769, expreſſing his Mogul Majeſty's ſolicitude for a *body-guard*, to conduct him to *Dehly*; which the General would have ſent under the command of the ſame gentleman whom he acknowledged, before the Houſe of Commons, to have been his partner in trade. Appendix A. Num. XLI. page 195.

‡ Ibid. page 196.

§ *Verelſt*'s View, &c. page 14.

‖ Ibid. page 20.

"ſhould

"should this *virtuous zealot* suppress them? If he knows none, "how base the imputation!"

After duly considering the facility with which such scenes were perpetrated, as have been described, and the facts which have been proved, in this and the preceding chapters, the candid reader will be able to distinguish the men who have deserved the judgment denounced by Mr. *Verelst*, for taking advantage of an unsettled government.——If to all those circumstances, he adds the consideration of the *political* manœuvres of the Company's ruling servants with the GREAT MOGUL *Shah Allum*, and the Nabobs of *Bengal*; their confirmations of Lord *Clive*'s jagueer; the progress of *East India* stock from the year 1765 to 1769, in consequence of the very exaggerated and imposing accounts transmitted * from *India*; the purchases of that stock made by † Lord *Clive*; the conduct of the deluded Proprietors in voting an additional ten years grant of the ‡ jagueer to that noble Lord; the operation of the salt monopoly; the sudden fortunes obtained by the Select Committee-gentlemen, and the acquisitions made by all his Lordship's other friends, dependants and creatures, under the *potent* PRINCES of *Bengal*, together with the powerful effects and secret advantages attainable by wealth, from seats or suffrages in public assemblies; he will easily perceive how far the sources of emoluments, or pecuniary gratifications, were § "*removed by the* GRANT *of the revenue to the* "English East India *Company*," and he will be at no loss to discover the *private* advantages of the dewannee system, ‖ "*called, in* "*derision, the* DOUBLE-GOVERNMENT."

* Appendix A. Num. XI. page 40. See also the 13th parag. of Lord *Clive*'s letter to the Directors of the 30th *September* 1765. Reports, vol. III. page 394.
† Appendix A. Num. X. pages 28 to 39.
‡ Ibid. Num. XXX. page 164.
§ *Verelst*'s View, &c. page 11.
‖ Ibid. page 20.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

ON the EXCLUSIVE TRADE TO AND FROM INDIA; the REGULATIONS of the EAST INDIA COMPANY, and their late SERVANTS, for CONDUCTING the INTERIOR COMMERCE of BENGAL, and their *Practice* of SEIZING their FELLOW SUBJECTS by MILITARY GUARDS in INDIA, and TRANSPORTING them to ENGLAND: with Remarks on the late ACT of PARLIAMENT for the better MANAGEMENT of the COMPANY's Affairs.

THE advantages of freedom in commerce, and the conſequent deſtructive tendency of monopolies in general, are univerſally allowed by all men of knowledge; and no plea, but of a neceſſity, founded in the ancient ſtate of the *Eaſt Indies* and of *Europe*, was ever urged, by the ableſt writers, in ſupport of excluſive Companies among the *Europeans* who traded to and from thoſe countries. Where ſuch neceſſity therefore does not exiſt, the general intereſt will be always beſt promoted by free traffic.

But it is eaſily demonſtrable, that there can be no neceſſity for continuing any ſuch excluſive trade, in the preſent altered ſtate of the *Engliſh Eaſt India* concerns, when this kingdom poſſeſſes important territories in *India*, and hath the power of enacting laws on either ſide of the ocean, for turning into the ſcale of this country all the advantages of an open regulated commerce, as much as the nature of ſuch trade will admit.

It may, however, be thought an unpopular attempt to attack prejudices eſtabliſhed by time and habit, and ſtrengthened by a variety of combined intereſts, which only time, with much experience, can weaken, or remove. Mr. *Vereſt*, therefore, takes the preſent popular ſide of this queſtion, and draws concluſions, which, he ſays, are evident, of "the * *neceſſity* of an excluſive Company; "the expediency of uniting the commerce, the political power, "and the revenues in the ſame hands," from the practice of other

* *Vereſt*'s View, page 43.

European nations; although none of them, in fact, are in the ſame favourable predicament in which *Great Britain* ſtands at preſent on the Continent of *India*.

Yet, without the advantages, in that reſpect, which this nation now poſſeſſes, *France* and *Portugal* are already recovered from this error, by encouraging an open trade to *India*, in ſuch manner, that it muſt be owing to the future deviations of their reſpective governments from the firſt principles of commercial legiſlation, if, uninterrupted by war, their practice do not, in a very few years, evince the propriety of *Great Britain*'s either following their examples, or of confining her importations from *Aſia* to the conſumption of her own dominions. If we may be allowed to judge, from preſent experience, what is moſt likely to obviate ſuch events, it is the impolitic meaſures which the Company purſue in order to prevent all other nations from obtaining goods in the provinces under their influence; which, ſhould no worſe conſequences enſue, if continued, muſt finally terminate in the ſo total debaſement and dearneſs of the *Indian* manufactures, as muſt render their importation neither profitable to themſelves or to any other nation.

The neceſſity of creating excluſive Companies, after the diſcovery of the trade round the *Cape of Good Hope*, aroſe principally, if not wholly, from the acts of piracy and murder committed in *India* by one ſet of *Europeans* upon the other; and from their inſtigating and entering into alliances with the *Indian* Princes for the ſame purpoſes. In the immutable nature of things, arms, revenues, and commerce, are as heterogeneous as fire, earth, and water.—When blended, they are deſtructive of each other; but while they act ſeparately, they are of mutual ſupport.—But to ſuch men as reaſon on political and commercial principles and practice, Mr. *Vereſt* does well to ſay, his * "*work cannot be addreſſed.*" The diſtreſſed natives of *Bengal*, and the ſuffering Proprietors of *India* Stock in *England*, have alike woefully experienced the fatal effects of a junction of ſuch powers.

As well grounded is Mr. *Vereſt*'s ſagacious information, † "that "the Exchequer receives annually four fifths of the profits gained "by the Company:" for if, as we muſt ſuppoſe, he means in cuſtoms and exciſe taxes, the ſame kind of merit may be claimed with equal juſtice, by brewers, diſtillers, and all other traders pro-

* *Vereſt*'s View, page 44.
† Ibid.

portionally,

portionally, with regard to their reſpective buſineſſes. Can any conſiderate man ſuppoſe, that government would ſuffer beers, brandies, teas, or any other exciſeable commodities, ſo to burden the labour and trade of this kingdom, as at preſent, for the mere benefit of dealers? Or that it would be at ſuch an annual expence for preventing the ſmuggling in of thoſe articles, but for the duties and exciſes thereon, which are neceſſary for ſupplying its own demands on the ſubject? The allegations, therefore, of public advantages ſo derived from the Company, are no other than the effects of groſs ignorance, or great diſingenuity; for ſuch taxes are not paid to government by them, but by the conſumers of their commodities.

But if, in his eſtimation of deductions made by government from the profits of the *Eaſt India* Company, Mr. *Vereſt* includes the four hundred thouſand pounds which, for three years, were paid by them, as a kind of quit-rent for nearly four millions, which they have collected of annual-revenue for many years paſt, it is ſtill a more ridiculous aſſertion, becauſe the whole was indiſputably the property of the ſtate.

So likewiſe, when Mr. *Vereſt* obſerves, * "that the property of "the Proprietors of *Eaſt India* Stock has been employed in ſuſtaining "the power of *Great Britain*, and wreſting all dominion from her "enemies in *Aſia*; and that, if the Company has occaſionally ob"tained the protection due to every ſubject from the ſtate, it has "likewiſe given an aſſiſtance which no other ſubject could afford, "has laviſhed its own wealth, and riſqued its own ſecurity in na"tional conteſts, in which the Company's intereſts were by no "means involved;" it may be fairly anſwered, that in doing what they did, they acted for their own particular intereſt, as well as for the common good; and thereby did no more than, in proportion, was done by every other company, or colony, or community of the body-politic: nor to any other did equal advantages reſult from the war.

In whoſe cauſe, it may be aſked, were the ſtruggles maintained on the coaſt of *Coromandel*? The *French* government had been long ſeeking to eſtabliſh dominion there; which, but for that war, they would infallibly have effected, in ſo formidable a degree, as to have ſoon accompliſhed their great object, the deſtruction of the *Engliſh Eaſt India* Company; who, by the ſucceſs of that war, were not

* *Vereſt*'s View, &c. page 44.

only ſoon effectually freed from ſo dangerous an enemy, but, at the ſubſequent peace, were left without one formidable *European* rival in *India*. At an immenſe expence to the public, the ſea and land forces of this kingdom were employed in that war; and to the ſame aſſiſtance have the Company been principally indebted for their ſubſequent acquiſitions, by good or bad means, of ſuch wealthy and extenſive territories as gave occaſion to their ſervants, to declare them to have become THE SOVEREIGNS OF RICH AND POTENT KINGDOMS.

If they did not avail themſelves of thoſe acquiſitions to their own infinite advantage, but greatly the contrary; or if they were deceived and abuſed therein, the fault muſt have been owing to a want of abilities, or honeſty, in thoſe to whom they entruſted the direction of their affairs at home; or perhaps to a far greater want of both in thoſe ſervants whom they appointed to manage their concerns in *Hindoſtan*. Either of thoſe propoſitions might ſerve to demonſtrate the impropriety of the *Eaſt India* Stockholders being entruſted with ſuch power; but they can have no juſt reaſon to complain of the natural and unavoidable conſequences of their own errors, or to reproach the nation with their peculiar ſervices, being themſelves more indebted thereto, than any other body of ſubjects in the *Britiſh* dominions.

So much for the excluſive trade to and from *India*, and for the account likewiſe of favours conferred, or benefits acquired, as ſtated by Mr. *Verelſt*, reciprocally, between the Company and kingdom. It may be now proper to ſubmit to the reader's conſideration, a few remarks on the trade carried on, of late years, by the Company and their ſervants in *India*. But as this ſubject hath been already treated at large in the firſt part of *Conſiderations*, &c. and much hath alſo been ſaid thereon in the preceding chapters of this volume, we ſhall now only preſent to the reader ſuch additional matters as appear neceſſary, to corroborate, or elucidate, what hath been already laid before him.

In the better times which preceded the Company's government in *Hindoſtan*, but particularly in *Bengal*, when merchants of all countries were ſtrongly protected, and no limits were ſet to the ſales, or purchaſes, of any nations, or individuals; thoſe provinces produced enough of all commodities for anſwering every call that could offer, and no monopolies could take place. By ſuch means, to the infinite advantage of the individuals of thoſe countries, there gradually had grown up, of natives and others, many opulent ſpeculators

culators in the ſurpluſſages of products, who, from ſeaſon to ſeaſon, made laudable profits by ſuch dealings, as did occaſionally ſerve to unburthen the ryots, or the manufacturers and inferior farmers; to accommodate the itinerant merchants of other countries readily with the commodities they wanted, and alſo, in every way, to aſſiſt the foreign and native traders reſident in the reſpective provinces. When treating of the unbounded extent of the former trade and conſequent riches of *Bengal*, even Mr. *Verelſt* thus informs the Directors:

* " Of the immenſity of this we muſt conceive the moſt conſe-
" quential idea, when we find, from the Cuſtom-office-books at
" *Murſhedabad*, that ſo late as *Allaverdy Khawn*'s † time, and after
" ſo many internal revolutions and foreign ravages, nearly the
" value of ſeventy ‡ lacks, in raw-ſilk, were entered there, *exclu-*
" *ſive of the* European *inveſtments*, which were not regiſtered in them,
" as being either duty-free, or paying at *Hoogly*."

Such were the effects of the wiſe ſyſtem by which *Hindoſtan* was then governed; whereby the *Bengal* provinces became ſo much enriched, as not only conſtantly to abound with wealth, but likewiſe to be able to afford in ſpecie, without ſuffering injury therefrom, an immenſe annual tribute to the Court of *Dehly*; little of which ever circulated back to thoſe provinces again.—Full freedom of trade, therefore, under the government of the Moguls, and even under the uſurping Nabobs, made *Bengal* flouriſhing and wealthy, and her Princes, of courſe, greatly opulent.

But although the proſperity of the *Bengal* provinces depend entirely on the freedom of their internal and external commerce, and even the profits of the Company's trade to and from thoſe territories ſtand upon the ſame foundation, a quite contrary ſyſtem was induſtriouſly purſued, to the ruin of thoſe countries, by the late Select Committees, whom Mr. *Verelſt* undertakes particularly to defend.

It hath been already ſhewn, that former Courts of Directors endeavoured greatly to encourage all freedom of trade among their dependants in *India*; the parties ſo trading conforming to the laws and uſages of thoſe countries, and paying the eſtabliſhed duties. Upon ſuch a footing, the *Engliſh*, at all times, might trade inland,

* See the 6th parag. of his letter of the 5th *April* 1769. Reports, vol. IV. page 413.
† *Anno* 1756.
‡ 875,000 l. ſterling.

in

in any articles, equally with the Nabob's ſubjects; for it would be almoſt as abſurd to ſuppoſe, that any regulations made by the Company could extend to the Nabob's dominions, as it would be to imagine, that within their own ſettlements, in which they were to be governed by the laws and cuſtoms of this kingdom, they could legally prohibit any reſident from buying and ſelling. Such, alſo we have ſhewn, were evidently the ſentiments of the late Mr. *Vanſittart* on the inland-trade of *Bengal*; who has * informed the public, that ſuch orders thereon, from the Company, as were in force at the time of his arrival at *Calcutta*, in the year 1760, did not contradict this opinion, which had been confirmed by the practice of both his predeceſſors, Lord *Clive* and Mr. *Holwell*.

All the excluſive trade which the Company were ever intitled to by acts of the legiſlature, was that between *England* and the countries eaſtward of the *Cape of Good Hope*. They were never entruſted with legiſlative powers for the government of great dominions in *India*; but merely with ſuch as were deemed neceſſary for defending and regulating the factories and ſettlements which they were permitted to poſſeſs abroad, for the purpoſe of carrying on their trade of imports and exports; ſuch powers having been given to them expreſly becauſe it was conceived they would tend to the increaſe of the national trade, and of his Majeſty's revenue. It was alſo expreſly provided in their charters, that none of their regulations, or bye-laws, for the direction of even their own ſervants or other dependants in *India*, ſhould be repugnant to the laws and ſtatutes of this kingdom.

It is therefore evident, that ſo long as the Company were pleaſed to confine themſelves within the bounds of allegiance to their own Sovereign, they were in duty obliged to regulate their conduct by the laws of *Great Britain*; and when they choſe to aſſume the government of kingdoms in *Aſia*, they were as much virtually bound to govern ſuch dominions by the laws and cuſtoms of *Hindoſtan*; whether they acted openly therein, or under the pretended authority of Princes, whom they upheld for a diſguiſe.

By Mr. *Vanſittart*'s publication, laſt quoted, and by the letters of the Directors on this ſubject, recorded in the † Reports of the Houſe of Commons, it appears, that the abſurd orders tranſmitted

* Vide *Vanſittart*'s letter to the Proprietors of *India* Stock, in anſwer to the late Director, Mr. *Scrafton*, printed for *J. Newbery*, 1767, pages 80, *&c.*

† Reports, vol. IV. pages 188 to 193.

to

to the Preſident and Council by the Court of Directors in 1764, were a principal cauſe of all the ruinous conſequences which afterwards accrued to the trade of *Bengal*.

Had the Court of Directors even poſſeſſed the legal power, yet their great want of neceſſary local knowledge muſt have rendered them as unqualified for regulating the interior trade of *India*, as their ſervants were unfit for the carrying of ſuch meaſures into execution, from being themſelves ſo materially intereſted in events. And indeed, from the firſt interference of the Directors and their ſervants therein, may be dated the commencement of deſtruction to the trade of thoſe provinces; of which truth, a momentary advertence to facts will force conviction on the reader's mind.

Among the various letters from the Courts of *India* Directors, already referred to, concerning the inland-trade, that of the * 8th of *February* 1764, under pretence of doing juſtice to the natives and the Nabob, and of not infringing the Mogul *Furrukhſeer*'s Firmaun, prohibited trading, not only in ſalt, beetlenut, and tobacco, but alſo in every other article *produced, or conſumed in the country*; but, however, with a latitude given to the Preſident and board at *Calcutta*, to add to, or improve on thoſe orders, *agreeably to the* SPIRIT of their meaning.

Under ſuch delegated powers, it hath been ſhewn, that the meaning of the Directors was immediately interpreted, by the ruling ſervants in *Bengal*, ſo entirely to their own advantage, that one of the firſt meaſures taken thereon was the eſtabliſhment of a monopoly of all trade in thoſe very ſpecifically prohibited-articles. How far their Preſidents and Select Committees conſulted the welfare of the natives and inhabitants of thoſe provinces, in the farther freedom of dealings, or how well they were qualified for legiſlators to a people diſtinguiſhed for agriculture, manufacturing, and trade, may be ſeen from their ſubſequent orders and regulations.

At a ſelect conſultation, held the 19th of *February* 1766, upon a complaint from their tool of a Deputy-Nabob, *Mahommed Reza Khawn*, of the oppreſſions practiſed by gomaſtahs in general, the Committee made the regulation, already mentioned, for all gomaſtahs employed in the inland-trade to be furniſhed with *perwânahs* by the Preſident; in which were to be ſpecified the places of their reſidence, the buſineſs they were to be employed upon, and the time requiſite for each purpoſe; without which no man was to

* Reports, vol. III. page 506.

be

be permitted to buy or ſell. At the ſame Committee, they were likewiſe pleaſed to make a merchant of *Mahommed Reza Khawn*, to whom they entruſted the purchaſe of *all the timber and chunam produced in a whole province*. In *June* 1766, for the farther benefit of trade and circulation, they adopted the notorious plan of a new and over-rated * gold coinage, which altered the ſtate of the currency throughout the whole country, effectually drained it of its remaining ſilver ſpecie, and terminated in a great loſs to the Company: and at a ſubſequent Committee, on the 12th of *Auguſt* 1766, they threw into the hands of their miniſter the whole ophium trade of the province of *Bahar*.

In order to make a ſhew of their great regard for the poor induſtrious natives, at another Committee held the 15th of the ſame month, upon private information taken from one *Coſſinaut*, in a ſummary way, peculiar to themſelves, they collected from a number of merchants, who were accuſed of ſelling ſalt at prices exceeding the rates eſtabliſhed by the Committee, no leſs a ſum than *forty-one thouſand five hundred and thirty-five rupees*: but they kept it *for ſuch good and charitable purpoſes as the Governor and Council ſhould* † *direct*.

At their meeting of the 10th of *September* 1766, when they reſolved upon calling all Company's ſervants, and other *Europeans*, from the inland-country and the ſubordinate factories, it was pretended to be the only means for ſecuring the neceſſary authority *to the government*, and protection to individuals. But they excepted from this order ſuch perſons as they were pleaſed, upon the ſame pretences, while, out of regard to their own agents, particularly thoſe employed in the ſalt-buſineſs, at a Committee of the 7th of *October* 1766, they cancelled certain penalty-bonds, which two of thoſe agents, Meſſrs. *Charles Bloomer* and *Tom Lewis* had given for their good behaviour; and were alſo graciouſly pleaſed to indulge thoſe gentlemen with the privilege of trading duty-free.

On the 22d of *October* 1766, this enlightened Committee alſo made a regulation to confine the trade of all *Europeans* to certain articles,

* See Appendix A, Num. XIX. page 123. The noble Preſident pleaded before the Houſe of Commons, in juſtification of his having adopted this plan, that "the gold "coinage was a ſubject very much out of his ſphere; that he was totally unacquainted "with the proportions of alloy, and the mixture of metals; and that he did not receive "a farthing advantage from it." See Lord *Clive*'s printed ſpeech, page 10. An honourable member preſent oppoſed to this argument, or apology of his Lordſhip, the comparative caſe of a quack doctor, who had opened a principal artery, and, after the death of his patient, endeavoured to juſtify himſelf upon his ignorance of anatomy.

† Reports, vol. III. page 523.

whereof they compoſed a moſt ridiculous liſt, under the denomination of exports from the Preſidency and Factories; and all trade from one part to another of thoſe extenſive territories was thereby abſolutely prohibited, * "on pain of confiſcation of the goods, to "be appropriated *at the pleaſure of the Committee.*"—A few days afterwards, they likewiſe committed the ſuperintendence of this buſineſs to their tool *Mahommed Reza Khawn*; who was directed † to cauſe all perwânahs to be immediately regiſtered, and, without delay, to ſend down to *Calcutta*, all ſuch perſons as could not produce a *proper authority* for their trade and reſidence in the provinces: while a number of military guards were ſtationed at a variety of places called *Chokeys*, for the collection of duties. And further, on their own ſuggeſtion that the country would not produce ſo much raw-ſilk as the Company had required for *Europe*, while private merchants were permitted to deal in that article, at a Committee, ‡ held on the 27th of *December* 1766, they were pleaſed to reſtrain, or prohibit *all trade* in that commodity alſo.

Upon the inland, or circular traffic of the *Bengal* provinces, wholly depended the proſperity of their external commerce, and the annual liquidation of a large balance in their favour, from the adjacent and other diſtant countries, whoſe merchants were uſed yearly to reſort to their frontiers: and whatever merchants carried on this circular trade, muſt have been quite immaterial, ſo long as they peaceably conformed to the laws and uſages of the country, and paid the eſtabliſhed duties.

Yet, without any diſtinction made on thoſe points, the wiſdom of the *Calcutta* legiſlators diſcovered in general, that the circular § traffic of *Bengal* was particularly pernicious. The inland-trade carried on by the *French*, they likewiſe deemed an *encroachment*; and, as if expreſly for the purpoſe of preventing the influx of wealth from the interior parts of *Hindoſtan*, they gave directions to *Shetabroy*, their collector at *Patna*, for ſtopping all trading boats that ſhould attempt to paſs the frontiers of || *Bahar*.

To crown the whole of ſuch proceedings, at a ¶ Select Committee, held the 29th of *December* 1767, they formed a ſet of regula-

* Appendix A. Num. XXI. page 130.
† Ibid. Num. XXII. page 134.
‡ Ibid. Num. XXV. page 143.
§ Ibid. page 163.
|| Ibid. page 164.
¶ Ibid. Num. XXXII. page 168.

tions for conducting the inland-trade of the country, which their Reſident at the *Durbar* was directed to enforce, as uſual, under the pretended authority of their tool of a Nabob, without making the Company to appear as principals, expreſly for the purpoſe of preventing the trade of the other *European* nations; under which regulations, *Shetabroy* would not permit the *French* to carry on any trade whatever, notwithſtanding *they were* * *willing to pay the uſual duties*, without orders from Mr. Preſident *Verelſt*.

It was impoſſible to frame laws which, conſidering the ſtate of *Bengal*, could tend more directly to oppreſs the inhabitants, and to curb or fetter their trade; and indeed, ſuch was the very alarming proſpect, from the inevitable bad conſequences of thoſe regulations, to the manufactures and the revenue of the provinces, that the writer, then on the ſpot, ventured to repreſent their evil tendency to the Court of Directors, in his memorial, already † mentioned, of the 12th *October* 1767.

None of the gentlemen at the Board of Council, through whom that memorial was tranſmitted, paid any attention to its contents. Nevertheleſs, Mr. *Richard Becher*, one of thoſe very gentlemen to whoſe attention it had been particularly ‡ recommended, and who had joined with the reſt of the board, in condemning it as a production filled with miſ-repreſentations and falſehoods, after he had ſucceeded Mr. *Sykes* in the Reſidency at the *Durbar*, ſoon diſcovered the baneful effects that had been produced by thoſe deſtructive regulations. In a letter of the 7th *May* 1769, that gentleman informed Mr. *Verelſt*, § that the poor manufacturers had been obliged to ſell their commodities at any price, which thoſe employed to purchaſe for the *Engliſh* thought proper to give them; that finding no free-vent for their goods, they were diſcouraged from manufacturing them; and that the natives, *Armenians*, and others, had been long deprived of the liberty of purchaſing goods at the firſt hand, to the great detriment of the revenue.

The ſtationing of ſoldiers at *Chokeys*, for the collection of duties, afforded the moſt favourable opportunities for the practice of every ſpecies of impoſition and fraud by the *Chokeydars* and others, who

* Appendix B. Num. XXI. page 296. The Court of Directors were afterwards ſo injudicious as to countenance this impolitic conduct. See Appendix A. Num. XXXVIII. page 184.

† See page 82.

‡ Ibid. See alſo Appendix F. Num. XIX. page 474.

§ Appendix A. Num. XLII. page 199.

availed

availed themſelves of their uncontrouled military authority to detain the goods of the merchants, and to extort whatever ſums they pleaſed for their releaſement. That ſuch was the effect of the practices conſequent of this *wiſe* eſtabliſhment of military-guards for the purpoſes of commerce and revenue, may be fully ſeen in the proofs here referred * to: practices which naturally contributed to render every part of the country, what Mr. *Sykes* deſcribed the moſt fruitful province of *Purnea* to have become, † "*a waſte, and habitation of birds and beaſts.*"

The fatal effects of all thoſe impolitic and miſchievous regulations were alſo ſoon very ſenſibly felt by the Company in *England*, inſomuch, that from the moſt accurate ‡ accounts drawn up by order of the Directors, it appeared, that on the cargoes of 30 ſhips, brought from *Bengal*, during the five years ſubſequent to the aſſumption of the dewannee, the prime coſt of which was 3,037,266 l. the Company had only gained 680,502 l.——whereas they had gained 930,700 l. upon the inveſtments of only 1,642,180 l. that had been imported in $20\frac{3}{4}$ ſhips, during the five preceding years.

So that notwithſtanding the high encomiums which the Preſidents and Select Committees had paſſed on their own virtues and abilities, and particularly on their great attention to the Company's intereſt, in the vaſt increaſe of their inveſtment (which, as the intelligent Mr. *Vereliſt* calculated, would yield the Company one § hundred and ſeventy-five *per cent.* profit) the Court of Directors were forced to complain, that their ſhips were returned from *Bengal* with ſuch *depreciated fabricks*, that ſome of them ‖ "*ſcarce produced their original coſt.*" And if a complete and faithful account were laid before the public of their ſales down to the preſent time, the writer might venture to aſſert, that it would appear they have been ſince loſing at a very conſiderable rate upon the whole of their calico-inveſtments from that Preſidency.

But after Mr. *Vereliſt* had been a principal author of every order and every regulation that was calculated to confine and fetter trade, and which had actually brought the provinces to the brink of ſuch ruin as could no longer be concealed, it is curious to ſee how that gentleman filled the Company's records with long-winded, high-

* See Reports of the Houſe of Commons, vol. IV. page 115, *&c.* Alſo Appendix B. Numbers VII. XIII. XIV. XXVII. XXVIII. and E. Num. XLV. *&c.*

† Appendix B. Num. XV. page 292.

‡ Ibid. A. Num. XLIX. page 250.

§ *Vereliſt*'s View, *&c.* Appendix, page 119.

‖ See the letter from the Directors of the 10th *April* 1771. Appendix A. page 252.

ſounding minutes and letters on the advantages of freedom in trade. Yet ſuch was the conſtant tenour of Mr. *Verelſt*'s public conduct.

In his minute entered on the proceedings of a Select Committee, * held the 11th *Auguſt* 1769, he acknowledges, that "the inſights "which he had then acquired by his *reſearches* into the trade of "the country, filled him with the moſt alarming ideas of its ge-"neral ſtate;" that "the *ſhroffs* and merchants had been reduced "to beggary, or forced to relinquiſh their buſineſs, and were gone "off to the adjacent countries;" and, contrary to what had been repreſented by himſelf and the very members of this Committee but a few months before, of the ruinous conſequences accruing to *Sujah al Dowlah*'s country, from the trade carried on there by the dependants of the *Engliſh*, he therein acknowledged, that the reaſon why "*Sujah al Dowlah*'s territories, in particular, did wear ſuch "an aſpect of affluence and increaſing proſperity beyond their own, "was, in a great meaſure, owing to *the acceſſion of wealth they had* "*received from the natives of* Bengal."

In the ſaid minute he likewiſe further acknowledged, that the diffuſion and freedom of trade was the foundation of opulence and internal proſperity; that it ſhould be *as unconfined as the air in which we breathe*, and that ſuch freedom, in *Bengal*, was more particularly *beneficial*, as its commerce, from the moſt accurate calculations, *was a clear and intrinſic gain to it, equal to the whole amount of its annual exports.* Moreover, that he had been aſſured by *Mahommed Reza Khawn*, that upon a mere "intimation of a free trade, orders "for the remittance of twenty lacks of rupees from *Banáras*, *Agra*, "*Dehly*, and *Lahore*, were ſent to the Mogul agents."

It muſt be allowed, the advantages of an entire freedom of trade in *Bengal* cannot be better exemplified than by contraſting them with the acknowledged or known effects of a contrary practice.

We have ſhewn, from the evidence given by Mr. *Verelſt*, as taken from the government-books at *Murſhedabad*, that in the year 1756, nearly the value of 875,000 l. ſterling, in the ſingle article of raw-ſilk, had been entered at the cuſtom-office by private merchants, *excluſive* of the inveſtments of the *European* Companies. At this period the Company's aſſortment of *Coſſimbazar* ſilk uſed to be invoiced, upon an average, at from ſix to ſeven rupees *per* ſeer.

* At which were preſent, *Harry Verelſt*, Eſq; Preſident, *John Cartier*, *Richard Smith*, *James Alexander*, and *Charles Fſtoyer*, Eſquires. Vide Appendix A. Number XLIII. page 203.

Now

Now the greateſt inveſtment of raw-ſilk that was ever bought for the Company in *Bengal*, even after their ſervants had reſtrained * the purchaſes of all other perſons, was that imported in the year 1771, which amounted to about 1,490,571 current rupees, or at twenty-ſeven pence each rupee, 167,689*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* ſterling.

Upon an inquiry into the ſource of the continual complaints which the regulations of the Select Committees at *Calcutta* had occaſioned to be made, by the *French* and *Dutch*, of the interruption of their trade, Preſident *Verelſt* and the *Durbar* Reſident informed the Committee, by letter † of the 28th *June* 1767, that it was impracticable to afford them any relief; becauſe, although the trade of private merchants had been curbed and curtailed to the utmoſt, the country did not afford a ſufficient quantity of goods to anſwer their demands, ſince the *Engliſh* Company's inveſtment had been ſo conſiderably increaſed: when, according to Mr. *Verelſt*, ‡ "Such was the rigour exerciſed "to complete the quantity required by our Directors, that the Na- "bob has found it difficult to procure the neceſſary ſupply for his "houſhold, without making application to the *Engliſh* Agents."

Now the greateſt inveſtment, including raw-ſilk and every other article, provided for the Company in *Bengal*, to this day, was that of the year 1769, the prime coſt of which amounted to § 742,288*l.* And the *Coſſimbazar* ſilk imported by the laſt ſhips that have arrived in the year 1774 is invoiced to the Company at as high as fourteen rupees and three quarters *per* ſeer.

Here the reader therefore ſees from the moſt indiſputable evidence, that ſo late as the year 1756, and even before the country had recovered from thoſe internal revolutions and foreign ravages which Mr. *Verelſt* deſcribes to have brought it almoſt to ruin, with a free trade and under the government of a native Nabob, *Bengal* yielded more in one ſingle article of commerce than under the pernicious operation of the orders and regulations of the *Eaſt India* Directors and their ſervants, after ſeveral years of tranquillity, could be procured even with prices advanced above 100 *per cent.* and with the

* See Appendix A. Num. XXV. page 144.

† Ibid. Num. XXVII. page 157.

‡ *Verelſt*'s View, *&c.* page 86.

§ Appendix A. Num. XLIX. page 249. The writer has not taken the inveſtment of the year 1771, which Mr. *Verelſt* ſays (page 85) amounted to 768,500*l.* becauſe that was artificially ſwelled by the moſt deſtructive purchaſes made in *Calcutta* from the Company's ſervants and others, on which the Company gave at leaſt twenty *per cent.* upon the *Aurung* prices, paying in bonds which immediately bore intereſt at eight *per cent.*

practiſing

practiſing of every ſpecies of artifice to ingroſs the whole produce of the country.

Such were the conſequences of the interference of the Company with the inland-trade of *Bengal*. But before we quit this ſubject, it may not be improper to call the reader's attention alſo to the mode of forming and executing the various extraordinary orders and regulations which, from time to time, were made by the late boards at *Calcutta*, relative to the trade and government of thoſe provinces.

On the records of the Company, as hath been frequently ſhewn, ſuch regulations were conſtantly penned with the greateſt appearance of diſintereſtedneſs and regard to the welfare of the community. If the candid reader, therefore, were to conſider them, not from their nature and effects, but from the ſpecious gloſſes with which they were diſguiſed, he might even imagine, like a *well-meaning Eaſt India* Director, that upon the framing of ſuch records, the buſineſs was done; and that the poor natives of *Bengal* had been, of late years, the happieſt people on earth.

But he muſt be informed, that there were no effective Courts appointed to inforce the execution, or puniſh the tranſgreſſion of, ſuch regulations; both which were alſo reſerved to the diſcretion or caprice of the Preſident and Select Committee. The progreſs of thoſe regulations, in *Calcutta*, had perpetually been no other than their Secretary's cauſing notices on paper to be paſted up at the doors of the Council-houſe, the Mayor's Court, and the Fort, containing copies of the reſolutions of the board, and ſometimes imperfect tranſlations made thereof by their banyans into the *Bengal* language, rarely intelligible to the natives; which, after the firſt ſtorm of rain or wind had defaced or diſperſed them, were thought no more of.

The ſame was the progreſs of thoſe regulations alſo in the interior provinces, where they were tranſmitted to *Mahommed Reza Khawn*, or their Reſident at the *Durbar*, under whom he acted; and to the Chiefs, or the *Indian* Collectors who acted under their inſpection, at the ſubordinate factories: while the governing ſervants of the Company, who *enacted*, as well as thoſe who were to inforce or ſuperintend the execution of ſuch LAWS, were conſtantly the firſt and moſt intereſted in breaking them.—Thus the only barrier againſt the luſt of rapine was a ſimple combination of the letters of an alphabet.

The impartial reader, therefore, who duly weighs the facts herein ſubmitted to his judgment, cannot withhold his aſſent to our propoſition, that the commencement of ruin to the interior traffic of

Bengal

Bengal muſt be dated from the firſt period of the Company's Directors and governing ſervants interfering in the regulation thereof: and if it be conſidered, that the regulations and reſtrictions which they have ſo made and inforced, of late years, have been equally as contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of *Hindoſtan*, as to thoſe of *Great Britain*, it will alſo be readily admitted, that they have been wholly as illegal as they have been repugnant to reaſon, and tyrannical.

In ſuch a ſituation of *Bengal*, could there a man exiſt, regardful of the welfare of his ſpecies, and not ſolicitous for the ſalutary and equitable interpoſition of the wiſdom of the *Britiſh* Legiſlature, from which alone any hopes could be entertained of remedies for the evils that were daily increaſing under ſuch a government?

A rational dread of the ill conſequences that might reſult, as well from their own directions, as from the regulations of a Select Committee who were continually aſſuming the higheſt merits from the moſt pernicious meaſures, induced the Court of *Eaſt India* Directors, by their orders * of the 15th *September* 1769, to the intended Superviſors, to reſtore the trade in ſalt to the former footing, by opening it to all perſons, as well natives as *Europeans*. And the farther experience of their fatal effects, with the alarming accounts of abuſes and diſtreſs which they were continually receiving from *Bengal*, at length ſo far opened the eyes of the Directors, that in the year † 1771 they judiciouſly aboliſhed *duſtucks*, and gave ſuch other orders for the univerſal freedom of trade, as might, in a few years, if left to their full operation, have in a great meaſure revived the drooping manufactures and retrieved the almoſt loſt branches of the frontier-traffic of the *Bengal* provinces.

But by a narrowneſs of mind, or a ſhort-ſightedneſs which hath ever attended the orders or regulations of the Directors, when their object has been to reconcile the exerciſe of their uſurped legiſlative powers with their commercial intereſts, the ſame letter which contained their orders for the freedom of trade, and the protection of the natives, conveyed ſuch other powers to their Preſident and Council, as muſt naturally have rendered thoſe orders wholly ineffectual. Theſe were private powers, given in a particular commiſſion under the Company's ſeal; whereby, in open defiance of juſtice, and in violation of the conſtitutional and unalienable birth-rights of their fellow-ſubjects, the Directors impowered their ruling ſervants in *India* to

* Reports, vol. III. page 531.

† See their general letters of the 10th *April* and 28th *Auguſt* 1771. Appendix A. Num. LI. page 250. and Num. LII. page 260.

ſeize

ſeize and ſend forcibly to *England* any of his Majeſty's ſubjects whomſoever, under ſuch unnatural and tyrannical conditions impoſed on them by * new-contrived covenants, as rendered them the mere helpleſs ſlaves of the Company's Preſidents and Councils, who were thereby made the ſole judges of the propriety and expediency of ſuch cruel and ruinous tranſportations.

The exerciſe in a *Britiſh* colony of this exorbitant power by the Company's ſervants, of arbitrarily impriſoning, baniſhing, and tranſporting of *Britiſh* ſubjects by military guards, was repreſented by the Author of *Conſiderations*, as a † principal cauſe of that rapid acquiſition of immenſe fortunes which would continue to bring thoſe provinces nearer and nearer to deſtruction, if effectual meaſures were not ſpeedily taken to prevent ſuch violences, to enable the injured more eaſily to obtain relief, and to inflict exemplary puniſhments on ſuch oppreſſors.

‡ "Well calculated," ſays Mr. *Vereſt*, "as this paſſage may be "to work upon the honeſt prejudices of an *Engliſh* reader, it is diffi- "cult to conceive why we are to attribute fortunes rapidly ſqueezed "*out* of the natives to the practice of ſending a dangerous *European* "to *England*; or how the prevention of ſuch violences, or puniſh- "ments of ſuch oppreſſors, will ſave the provinces from that ap- "proaching ruin which Mr. *Bolts* denounces."

No man but Mr. *Vereſt* would have dared attempting to miſlead the public judgment by the ſtarting of ſuch a doubt; for it will be found, upon a ſerious examination, that no regulation could have been more favourably contrived for enabling the Company's ruling ſervants to continue their monopolies and other oppreſſions upon the natives. The ruling ſervants of the Company were at all times the only perſons who could be guilty of ſuch great oppreſſions, impoſitions, or monopolies, as alone could enable them rapidly to acquire enormous fortunes, at the expence, and to the great injury of the natives. No man of underſtanding will doubt, that ſuch oppreſſions and monopolies muſt tend to the ruin of the provinces; and there can be no honeſt man, who knows any thing of the ſtate of the kingdoms under the power of the Company, but will admit, that no native of *India* would ever dare attempt to obtain juſtice againſt ſuch oppreſſors, without the aſſiſtance of an *European* advocate. But if

* See theſe covenants at large, Reports of the Houſe of Commons, vol. III. pages 177 to 180.

† *Conſiderations, &c.* vol. I. page 147.

‡ *Vereſt's* View, *&c.* page 7.

ſuch

ſuch *European* be made liable to be ſeized and tranſported to *England*, at the pleaſure of the Company's ruling ſervants, it is ſelf-evident that the natives can have no checks in their favour, for the prevention of ſuch oppreſſions as muſt naturally terminate in the ruin of thoſe provinces.

Upon this ſubject of tranſportation Mr. *Vereſt* proceeds, in the ſame page, thus:—" The mode of reaſoning in conſtant uſe with " Mr. *Bolts* is by declaiming ſtrongly on poſſible effects to inflame " the mind, to mention a particular fact which proves nothing, " and then very liberally to deal forth general invectives, leaving " the reader to ſuppoſe practices thus alluded to have frequently pre- " vailed. Who would not, from the following paſſage, be led to " imagine, that the practice of ſending to *Europe* had been ſo com- " mon as to deſtroy all private credit? The reader will, perhaps, be " ſurprized to learn, that Mr. *Bolts* is the ſingle inſtance of a trader " being ſo tranſported during many years."

It is certain that the writer was the only inſtance, for ſeveral years paſt, of an *European* of extenſive dealings and great property, who had been in the Company's civil ſervice, being ſo ſeized and forcibly ſent away from *Bengal*. But, beſides the caſes already given in the firſt part of *Conſiderations*, *&c.* the inſtances were innumerable of perſons who had received the ſame arbitrary orders for departure; and who, if they had not obeyed ſuch orders, or evaded them by ſeeking protection in foreign ſettlements, would, in like manner, have been ſent away by force. From the writer's ſituation and the nature of his mercantile concerns, it was neither in his power or inclination to obey the illegal orders he had received: ſo that he was, in a great degree, under the neceſſity of putting thoſe powers to the teſt of law, and to make ſuch a ſtand in the gap, between the deſpotiſm of the Company and the liberty of the ſubject, as, though it has terminated in his own ruin with reſpect to property, has already been of ſome, and would have proved of much greater ſervice to his Majeſty's ſubjects in *India*, had not *Aſiatic* influence too much prevailed in the laſt *Britiſh* Parliament.

Mr. *Vereſt* farther obſerves, * " Common ſenſe muſt diſcover, " that a power of ſeizing *Britiſh* ſubjects, for the purpoſe of ſending " them to *England*, muſt fall to the ground, if magiſtrates, having " a mere local authority, ſhould preſume to releaſe them." But ſo far from offering one argument, that will ſtand the teſt of common

* *Vereſt*'s View, *&c.* page 13.

ſenſe, to prove that the exerciſe of ſuch a power was or is in any degree neceſſary to the Company, he contents himſelf with a low * perverſion of the arguments which were uſed by the writer to prove that there could not poſſibly exiſt any neceſſity for their ſo baniſhing or tranſporting perſons, without a crime and without a hearing.

In another place our author thus diſcourſes on this ſubject:—† "Mr. *Bolts*, ſtill declaiming againſt tranſportation, has this paſ-" ſage: "But there is a direct unconſtitutional uſe to be made of " ſuch power, which is, *as we have ſeen*, that of employing it to " puniſh men for doing their duty, even in Courts of Juſtice. They " may diſoblige men in power by refuſing to be pliant Judges, if " in the Mayor's Court; or pliant Jurors, if impanelled as Jurymen " at the ſeſſions; and may be therefore puniſhed with ruin, in re-" venge for their honeſt diſcharge of the firſt ſocial duty."—After thus reciting the writer's words, Mr. *Verelſt* makes the following appeal to the Public: "*Have ſuch caſes ever exiſted?* Has ſuch an un-" conſtitutional uſe been ever made of this power?"

To theſe bold queſtions it is as boldly replied in the affirmative, that ſuch caſes have exiſted, and that ſuch abuſes of the power mentioned have been often practiſed in *India*. Were we inclined to recur to former times, many examples might be likewiſe given in proof hereof, with ſome of which Mr. *Verelſt* was perfectly ‡ acquainted. But without

* *Verelſt*'s View, *&c.* page 14.

† Ibid. page 13.

‡ In the caſe of Mr. *Jonathan Ranſon*. This gentleman, who is ſtill living near *London*, had charge of the Company's marine yard at *Calcutta* in the year 1751. On a pique harboured againſt him by the then Governor, it was privately ſuggeſted to the Council, that frauds had been practiſed in the marine department. On that ſuggeſtion, having previouſly ſent Mr. *Ranſon* upon a ſurvey down the river, the Preſident and Council, by deliberate written orders, cauſed his houſe and warehouſes to be forced open, and his books and papers to be ſeized and brought to the fort. A black merchant of conſiderable property, named *Ramſonteſe*, who acted as Mr. *Ranſon*'s banyan, was on this occaſion alſo ſeized, and impriſoned from the 21ſt of *November* 1751, to the 19th of *June* 1752; and, for preſuming to lay his complaint before the Grand Jury, they were pleaſed to order him to be ſtripped, tied up, and flogged with thirty-nine laſhes of the *chawbuck*, and then ſet at liberty. During the time of this perſecution, the reſentment and power of the Governor and Council were exerted againſt every man who did his duty, by endeavouring to procure juſtice, either to Mr. *Ranſon* or *Ramſonteſe*, and particularly againſt Mr. *William Woolhead*, their agent, who was thereupon ordered home to *England*. Now, as when theſe tranſactions took place, Mr. *Verelſt* was a Clerk in the Secretary's office; and when Mr. *Ranſon*'s complaint was brought to a hearing in the Mayor's Court, in 1754, was both an Alderman and an evidence in the cauſe, we may naturally ſuppoſe him to have been well acquainted with the whole proceedings.

On this caſe it may not be improper to obſerve, that the Preſident and Council were, at one and the ſame time, the aggreſſors; the only Juſtices of the Peace to take cognizance of,

without having recourſe to æras preceding his own adminiſtration, it may be allowed the writer, in his turn, to aſk that gentleman, Did not *Bolts* do his duty, when, as an Alderman of the Mayor's Court, he endeavoured, though in vain, to procure from the Mayor of *Calcutta* a ſight of Mr. *Verelſt*'s private letter, in conſequence of which the * cauſe of *Parſeek Arratoon* was put a ſudden ſtop to, in the moment of judgment? And did not Mr. *Verelſt* know, that in *Auguſt* 1771, at another Preſidency, ſix Judges of the Mayor's Court were ſuddenly ordered home for not complying with the requiſition of the Company's Preſident and Council, relative to the proceedings of the Court, in a cauſe wherein they themſelves were parties?

With reſpect to the deſtruction of private credit, conſequent of this practice of ſudden tranſportation, although, by confounding the argument in puerile abuſe of the † "*young writers*" and the "*black* "*merchants*," Mr. *Verelſt* attempts to evade the fact, by treating the idea as a chimera; yet every real merchant muſt be ſenſible, that ſuch an effect will be the inevitable conſequence of ſuch a practice. It hath been already ſhewn, and may be ſeen in the reports of the Houſe of Commons, that the Directors of the Company were formerly ſo attentive to this point, as to make it an article in the covenants of their ſervants, that they ſhould not leave their factories or ſettlements before they had diſcharged all ſuch ſums as they might be juſtly indebted to the ‡ "black merchants, or natives of the "country."

But whatever may have been Mr. *Verelſt*'s VIEW at the time of his publication, we have ſhewn, by his own evidence, quoted in the preceding chapter, from the general letter of the 25th *September* 1769, which was juſt twelve months after his ſudden ſeizure and tranſportation of the writer, || that ſuch was the general decay of

of, and the only Judges to decide on criminal matters; while they were alſo the makers and unmakers of the Court of Mayor and Aldermen, and themſelves formed the Court of Appeals for all civil complaints. From ſuch an eſtabliſhment, which ſtill continues at every Preſidency except *Calcutta*, let the reader conſider what a glorious proſpect of juſtice do thoſe *Britiſh* colonies in *Aſia* afford to the aggrieved!

This affair of Mr. *Ranſon*'s was brought to *England*: but the *India* Directors contrived to make matters up with that gentleman, probably not without apprehenſions, that they would have been, even then, deprived of this power of tyrannizing, had it's effects been publicly made known in *England*.

* *Vide Conſiderations, &c.* vol. I. page 91.

† *Verelſt*'s View, *&c.* page 8.

‡ Reports, vol. III. page 181. near the bottom.

|| See the 39th par. of a letter from Preſident *Verelſt* and the Council of *Calcutta* to the Court of *Eaſt India* Directors. Dated the 25th *Sept.* 1769. Reports, vol. IV. page 416.

credit, that the moſt opulent of the native merchants preferred locking up their caſh to the lending it at intereſt, even *to the moſt reſpectable characters* amongſt the Company's ſervants. The ingenious reaſons which the Preſident and Council advance to palliate the evil are ſuch as afford the moſt condemnatory proofs againſt themſelves. They deſcribe this general ſtagnation of trade and want of credit as owing to *the great difficulty thoſe natives found in recovering money they had formerly lent, from the great ſcarcity of ſilver.*

If Mr. *Verelſt* will inſiſt, that ſuch worthy ſervants of the Company could not pay their debts from the great ſcarcity of ſilver, we anſwer, they might have paid them in gold, of which there was *too great a plenty:* and therefore, unleſs he inſiſts that thoſe moſt reſpectable characters had adulterated the gold coin, or were deficient in point of honeſty, he muſt agree with the Author of *Conſiderations*, that the diffidence of the native merchants was owing to the want of public juſtice; the inſecurity of property; the great alarm which the practice of ſudden ſeizures, baniſhments, and tranſportations had created, and the great loſſes which many of thoſe natives had ſuſtained from that practice. For example's ſake, it may be here remarked, that no *European* ever had more extenſive dealings than the writer with the natives of *India*, to ſeveral of whom his tranſportation hath proved fatal: for although, under a ſtatute of bankruptcy, he hath delivered up his all in obedience to the laws of this country, yet thoſe natives can reap no benefit from the laws at preſent in being, under the ſhamefully-pretended ſanction of the authority whereof they have, through him, ſuffered their injuries.

But, in oppoſition to Mr. *Verelſt*'s doctrine, it may be farther inſiſted, that the effect of this practice of ſudden tranſportation was not only the immediate deſtruction of all private credit and ſecurity, but that the mutual confidence ſo neceſſary in commercial affairs, which ſubſiſted between the natives and *Europeans* in the ſettlement of *Calcutta* before the tranſportation of the writer and others, will never be perfectly * re-eſtabliſhed, until they ſhall be better ſecured, than they

* In the Memoirs of *Ruſſia*, lately publiſhed, there is a remarkable caſe in point, as to this conſequence of ſudden tranſportation; whereby it appears, that the Czar *Peter*, notwithſtanding all his knowledge and abilities, by a wrong exertion of power over a ſingle individual, ruined the whole credit of his ſubjects, and defeated one of the moſt beneficial undertakings that was ever formed for the good of his country. The reader, it is hoped, will excuſe a recital of this caſe in the words of the author:

"*Peter* I. during his reign, took all the pains imaginable to make his ſubjects good "merchants, and to engage them not to ſell any longer the merchandizes produced in his "dominions

they are at preſent, againſt the repetition of ſuch practice, by ſome future Act of the *Britiſh* Legiſlature.

As to the new covenants which the Company have lately impoſed on their dependants, in order to give a ſanction to this favourite uſurpation of power, the ſeizing of their fellow-ſubjects in *India* and forcibly bringing them to *England*, they are truly ſuch as the Author of *Conſiderations on* India *Affairs* * repreſented them; and probably never would have been contrived, had it not been for his caſe. The diſpaſſionate repreſentations of their evil tendency and injuſtice, from gentlemen on whom they were endeavoured to be impoſed at another Preſidency, may perhaps have greater weight with ſome perſons than the repreſentations of a ſuffering party. The reader is, therefore, referred to the Appendix for a peruſal of the † remonſtrances that were made to the Preſident and Council, by two gentlemen who declined to execute them at *Fort St. George*.

There have been epochas in the *Britiſh* conſtitution, when, perhaps, the lives of the perſons who had forged ſuch ſhackles of ſlavery, as are contrived in thoſe covenants, would have been deemed inadequate ſacrifices to public juſtice, for ſuch flagitious attempts againſt the majeſty of the people. But although *Britiſh* ſubjects, allured by hopes of wealth, now tamely emigrate to *India*, bound, by covenants, to ſlaviſh acquieſcence under the vileſt acts of tyranny; and although ſuch uſurped powers have been hitherto no

" dominions at ſecond hand, by foreigners; but to carry on their trade directly in goods " laden on *Ruſſian* bottoms, to foreign countries, in the manner practiſed by other com- " mercial nations.

" In the beginning of this century, the Emperor made a trial of this kind. He ſent a " *Ruſſian* merchant, called *Soloview*, to *Amſterdam*, there to eſtabliſh a *Ruſſian* factory, " or houſe of trade; and that he might ſucceed the better, he not only gave him ſeveral " commiſſions of the Court, but there were alſo granted to him great advantages on the " reſt of his trade to *Ruſſia*. As *Soloview* was really a man of parts, and had all the ne- " ceſſary capacity, he knew ſo well how to avail himſelf of all thoſe circumſtances, that " he had, in a few years, gained a conſiderable capital; at the ſame time that his civil " behaviour had won him the friendſhip and confidence of all the *Dutch* merchants. But " *Peter* I. being, in 1717, at *Amſterdam*, ſome of the great men of the Court, who had " taken a pique againſt him, becauſe he would not ſatisfy the extortions of their avarice, " found means to blacken him in the opinion of the Emperor; who, having cauſed this " merchant to be carried off, had him embarked on board a ſhip for *Ruſſia*. This occa- " ſioned the *Ruſſian* trade's falling into a great decline in *Holland*, the dealers of *Amſter- " dam* being thereby grown afraid of truſting any *Ruſſian* merchant; ſo that it has not " been ſince poſſible to form there any ſolid eſtabliſhment." *Memoirs of Ruſſia*, by General *Manſtein*, page 387.

* *Conſiderations*, &c. vol. I. pages 118 to 124.

† See the letters of *George Smith* and *Andrew Roſs*, Eſqrs. Appendix A. Num. LVI. page 279. and Num. LVII. page 282.

otherwiſe noticed by Parliament than in being honoured with a place in their * reports; yet is the practice which they are calculated to ſcreen, not only repugnant to the perſonal rights of men, the equity of ſervice, the ſecurity of credit and private property; but likewiſe to the true intereſts of the Company, the welfare of the ſubjugated provinces, and the good of this kingdom.

From what has been made to appear, it muſt be evident to the unprejudiced reader, that the ruinous ſituation to which the *Bengal* provinces were reduced, from the year 1765 to 1770, was owing to the perſons intruſted with the Government being placed in ſituations under little controul; or ſuch, in fact, as freed them from every reſtraint, and enabled them to ſet themſelves above all law whatever; contrary to every principle of the *Britiſh* conſtitution. Perhaps, wherever there are evils under which the governed labour, they may be generally deduced from a ſimilar cauſe in every community. But if the Governors, in *Bengal*, were under little controul before, the Legiſlature hath ſince placed them under much leſs.

By the late Act of Parliament, of the 13th *George* III. the Governor General, the Council, and the Judges of the ſupreme Court of Judicature, eſtabliſhed in *Bengal*, are, indeed, reſtrained from trading or receiving preſents; and the ſame ſort of reſtraint is laid upon all perſons employed in the collection of the revenues or the adminiſtration of juſtice, their agents or ſervants. There are alſo, among others, ſeveral wiſe and excellent proviſions therein made, for the trying of all matters in the ſupreme Court of Judicature by Juries of *Britiſh* Reſidents; for the rendering of written evidence taken in *Bengal*, in certain caſes, of equal validity with *vivâ voce* evidence in *England*; and for the trying in his Majeſty's Court of King's Bench of all ſuch crimes, offences, corrupt practices, or miſdemeanours, as may be committed in *India* by the ſaid Governor and Council General, the Chief Juſtice, or the Judges of the ſaid ſupreme Court in *Bengal*, or by any perſon employed in a civil or military ſtation or capacity there or in any other part of *India*.

But at the ſame time that theſe ſalutary regulations are made, the ſaid Governor General, the Council, and the Judges, making together nine men, to whom all the powers of legiſlation and executive government are delegated, are freed from ſuch indictments, informations, arreſts, or impriſonments, as their fellow-ſubjects are liable to in *Aſia*: whereby the Legiſlature hath effectually confirmed

* Reports, vol. III. page 177, *&c.*

the

the doctrine of Lord *Clive*'s adminiſtration, that "*oppreſſions committed by the Preſident and Council were not cognizable by any civil authority in* India."

It hath been ſhewn, that the noble Lord *Clive* was the firſt Governor who ever preſumed to reſtrain a man lawfully reſident under the ſanction of the *Britiſh* laws in *Bengal*, from trading; and he and his Select Committee were the firſt who ſyſtematically adopted the ruinous and iniquitous practice of ſudden ſeizures, impriſonments, and tranſportations. And it is remarkable, that, by this Act, the Governor and Council alſo are intruſted with ſuch powers of withholding licenſes for trade or reſidence in *India*, or for ſending men forcibly to *England*, within twelve months, as, conſidering the ſituations of the *Britiſh* reſidents in that part of the world, are equivalent to the power of ruining any man at will; and ſuch as, if ſanctified by the co-operation of the four Judges, might effectually ſecure them under any breach of the law, and protect them in any act of tyranny or rapine. In this ſituation, the lands, the perſons, and the properties of the millions of induſtrious inhabitants in the *Bengal* provinces, as well as the neighbouring Princes, are, by the *Britiſh* laws, left at the mercy of nine men, who, if they ſhould prove as unanimous and ſucceſsful in their operations as the late Select Committees of *Bengal*, might renew the ſame devaſtation, with like emoluments and equal impunity to themſelves.

With reſpect alſo to the regulations in this Act which relate to commerce, had they been dictated by the very Preſidents and members of the ſaid Committees, they could not have been better calculated to ſcreen their own oppreſſions and blunders. The diſtreſs under which the commerce of *Bengal* has long laboured hath been proved to have been principally occaſioned by the fetters and reſtrictions which had been impoſed on it's inland-trade: yet by this Act of Parliament that trade hath been cramped by regulations almoſt equally as impolitic as thoſe under which it before laboured.

By one clauſe, *Britiſh* ſubjects are abſolutely prohibited from trading in ſalt, beetlenut, tobacco, or rice, except for account of the Company; although the Company never traded in thoſe articles in *Bengal*, and although, if ever they do, ſuch a monopoly muſt inevitably prove more deſtructive to the country than any trade of individuals in thoſe articles.

By the ſame clauſe, likewiſe, ſubjects under a certain deſcription are prohibited from purchaſing any goods or commodities, by way of traffic, *within* the provinces of *Bengal*, *Bahar*, and *Oriſſa*, to ſell the

ſame again *within* the ſaid provinces. Nevertheleſs, it is provided in the ſubſequent clauſe, that all perſons, not otherwiſe prohibited by the Act, may carry on trade WITHIN *Fort William* and the town of *Calcutta*.

In the next clauſe it is provided, that ſuch perſons as are reſtrained by the Act from carrying on any trade ſhall not be thereby prohibited from collecting in their outſtanding debts, or from ſelling or diſpoſing of the merchandiſes and ſtock in trade whereof they may be ſeverally poſſeſſed at the time when the prohibitions, therein ſpecified, ſhall reſpectively take place. But notwithſtanding this great *indulgence* to merchants, they are by the ſame clauſe required, within *thirty days*, to deliver in to the Governor and Council General, a full, true, and juſt ſpecification, upon oath, of all the goods, wares, effects, and ſtock in trade then in their poſſeſſion, which they are obliged to diſpoſe of *within the ſpace of nine months*: although ſuch may be the ſituation of thoſe perſons, and the nature of their trade, that three or more years may be inſufficient for the performance of the taſk impoſed on them.

By another clauſe of the Act, the perſons therein deſcribed are reſtrained from trading, after their covenants or agreements with the Company for reſiding or trading in *India* ſhall be expired, without a new licenſe. Under this reſtriction are included even Free-mariners; a claſs of men who have uſually gone out under no other limitation for reſiding or trading in *India* for life, than that of giving ſecurity not to become chargeable to the Company: under which ſole condition moſt of the gentlemen went out, who are now in *India* of that denomination.

The practice already mentioned, of ſeizing and tranſporting, ſo repugnant to the rights of men by nature, as well as to the conſtitutional privileges of *Britiſh* ſubjects, from expreſs compact with the Crown, although laid under ſome tacit reſtraints, is ſtill ſo far encouraged by this Act, as muſt not only greatly impede the re-eſtabliſhment of all commercial confidence and credit between the natives and *Europeans*, but may likewiſe be productive of ſuch evils and injuries to many *Britiſh* ſubjects as may provoke them to the worſt acts of deſperation; even ſuch as, in the end, may prove fatal to the intereſts of the Company and this country in *India*, ſince they will affect men in a military as well as civil capacity.

In the ſixth chapter it hath been fully proved, that the *Armenians* have greatly contributed to the preſent ſplendor and power of the *Britiſh* nation in *Aſia*; and it is alſo very evident, that, like other *Aſiatic* merchants,

chants, as fixed and conſtant reſidents, they muſt naturally contribute more to the increaſe of the trade and the permanent welfare of the ſettlements where they reſide, than the temporary ſervants of the Company who go out to *India* for the ſole purpoſe of acquiring wealth and returing with it to *Europe*. Upon the petition of the *Armenian Cojamaul*, on behalf of himſelf and others of his nation, it was alſo proved before a Committee of the laſt Houſe of Commons, that they had "of late been greatly impeded in their buſineſs as merchants, "by the moſt cruel, deſtructive, and injurious regulations, and "grievouſly oppreſſed by long and cruel impriſonments and otherwiſe, by the nominal Nabobs," acting under the ſervants of the Company. However, no particular attention was paid to thoſe facts, which ſtand ſo proved and on record before the Houſe, although the proſperity of the trade of *Bengal* avowedly depends on giving the fulleſt protection to ſuch merchants.

During the parliamentary deliberations on the Act now under conſideration, it is alſo worthy to be remarked, that an honourable * Member of the Houſe of Commons, who hath ever ſhewn himſelf equally ſtrenuous in his endeavours for ſuccouring oppreſſed individuals and ſupporting the common rights of mankind, preſented to that aſſembly and moved for the inſertion of a clauſe for enacting, "That all *Hindoos*, *Moguls*, *Armenians*, and other merchants, na"tives of *Aſia*, ſhould be allowed, as in all times paſt, to carry on "their trade, in any goods or merchandize whatſoever, without "moleſtation, in, to, and from *Calcutta*, *Madraſs*, *Surat*, *Bombay*, "*Bencoolen*, and all other ports or places within the limits of the "Company's charter, on paying the legal duties and cuſtoms eſtabliſhed at the reſpective places where ſuch trade might be carried "on."—Nevertheleſs, this juſt and provident clauſe was rejected, contrary to the intereſts of thoſe provinces, of the Company, and of this kingdom; and contrary to every principle of ſound policy: for the proſperity of all manufacturing or trading countries muſt ever depend on the freedom of traffic.

Did not this very Act of Parliament perpetuate the fact, poſterity would ſcarcely believe that in ſo enlightened an age, the Legiſlature of the greateſt commercial nation on earth had been ſeriouſly enacting laws to define the perſons who ſhould buy and ſell, the articles they were to traffic in, and the times and places when and where they ſhould purchaſe or diſpoſe of their commodities; with exceſſive pe-

* *George Johnſtone*, Eſq; Member for *Cockermouth*.

nalties annexed to the tranſgreſſion of ſuch rules: much leſs would they be inclined to believe, that ſuch a Legiſlature could have ſtumbled into the framing of fetters for their countrymen, with which they could not bind foreigners, in *India*.

But the commercial part of the law laid down in this Act is not only inconſiſtent with the regulations by which the Company's affairs were directed previous to the year 1764, and under which the *Britiſh* ſettlements in *India* were raiſed to a high pitch of affluent welfare, but it is undefineable in theory, impracticable in execution, and ſubverſive of all thoſe immutable principles which muſt be ever adhered to by all nations who ſeek proſperity or advantage from trade and commerce. The intelligent and unprejudiced reader, who attentively conſiders the preſent ſtate of *Bengal*, will alſo evidently perceive that it is eludible in every point, by the agency and intervention of that race of men who act in the double capacities of Banyans and Merchants, while the DOUBLE-GOVERNMENT ſtrongly favours ſuch eluſion; that it is contrary to the nature of things, in prohibiting that which is not bad in itſelf or in any relation to ſociety; that it militates againſt the end propoſed, for if it could be carried into the moſt effectual execution, it would perpetuate the ruin of the commerce of *Bengal*: and therefore, that it is defective in every conſtituent principle that is eſſential to a good law.

Before we diſmiſs this ſubject, it may farther be remarked, that the preamble to the Bill, as originally printed, ſet forth, that *various frauds, abuſes, and oppreſſions* had long prevailed in the government and adminiſtration of the Company, as well at home as in *India*; and ſo indeed it was fully proved before both the Committees of the Houſe of Commons: but when the Bill was finally paſſed into a "Law, "*frauds and oppreſſions*" were expunged, and only "*abuſes*" retained.

The few obſervations that have been made, it is hoped, will enable the reader to diſtinguiſh the ſpirit with which this Act was paſſed.—How far Adminiſtration, while acting with the moſt laudable intentions, may have been miſled by deſigning and intereſted men, we will not preſume to gueſs: but we will venture to aſſert, that the Act now under conſideration, as to the commercial part, will not produce the ſalutary effects at preſent requiſite to retrieve the manufactures and reſtore the trade of the *Bengal* provinces, and much leſs ſtand the teſt of future time.

How far the remarks made by the ſagacious Lord Chancellor *Bacon*, on the concerns of Princes, in his days, are applicable to the ſtate of

the *India* affairs appertaining to *England* in our own, is left to the conſideration of the intelligent reader.—The wiſdom, ſaith the Chancellor, of modern times, chiefly conſiſts in the adapting of remedies for preſent evils, or eſcapes from impending dangers, rather than the keeping them off by a ſolid courſe of wiſdom; and it is the ſoleciſm of great power, to think of commanding the end, without ſeeking the means. The original words of that great man are very remarkable:

* "Veruntamen & hoc verum eſt, moderni temporis prudentiam, "circa Principum negotia tractanda, in hoc potiſſimum verſari, ut "conquirantur magis & aptentur remedia & ſubterfugia malorum & "periculorum, cum ingruerint; quam ut prudentiâ ſolida & con-"ſtanti depellantur & ſummoveantur, antequam impendeant. Ve-"rùm hoc nihil aliud eſt, quam in agone cum fortuna experiri. "Caveant autem homines, ne obdormiſcant circa turbarum materias "primas, & inchoamenta. Nemo ſiquidem ſcintillam, incendium "parituram, prohibere poteſt; nec regiones metiri, unde eruptura "ſit. In Principum negotiis interveniunt proculdubio multæ diffi-"cultates & impedimenta; at ſæpenumero maxima impedimenta "ſunt Principum ipſorum affectus & mores. Etenim Principibus "frequenter accidit, ut contradictoria planè appetant; ſicut rectè "*Tacitus*: "Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates vehementes, & "inter ſe contrariæ." At potentiæ nimiæ ſoloeciſmus eſt, credere ſe "poſſe finem rei pro arbitrio aſſequi; neque tamen media procu-"rare."

Sermones Fideles, Cap. XIX. De Imperio.

CHAP. XIII.

CONCLUSION.

IN the firſt part of this work, the writer humbly recommended to the conſideration of the public ſuch remedies as, in his opinion, were moſt neceſſary to correct the evils which he demonſtrated to have prevailed in the *Eaſt India* concerns of *Great Britain*. According to that opinion, which was not formed in theory or ſpeculation, but wholly grounded on facts and his own experience, he preſumed principally to point out the neceſſity there was,

Firſt, Of rendering his Majeſty's Courts of Juſtice in *India*, independent of the Governors and Councils at the Company's reſpective Preſidencies.

Secondly, Of aboliſhing their uſurped power of ſeizing and impriſoning their fellow ſubjects in *India*, and tranſporting them to *Europe* without legal conviction of guilt, or even without any crime but that of being found in *India*.

Thirdly, Of taking from them all power of oppreſſion, and of fettering or monopolizing the trade in *India*, under the mock-power of *Indian* Princes.

In the preceding chapters, which fully confirm all that has been aſſerted in the firſt part of CONSIDERATIONS, *&c.* it hath been further incontrovertibly ſhewn,

That a confederacy of *Britiſh* Subjects, in the characters of Repreſentatives or ſervants to a commercial community, have had the audacious temerity to uſurp Sovereign domination in *Bengal*.

That ſuch rule hath been exerciſed by thoſe ſubjects in practices that were made enormouſly lucrative to themſelves, and proportionally injurious to their employers; while whole nations of innocent, harmleſs, ſubmiſſive, and induſtrious *Indians* have been thereby deſtroyed in murderous wars, plundered by illegal impoſts, exactions, and extortions, deprived of their native Princes, depopulated and ruined: And,

That

That ſuch domination was maintained by thoſe ſervants ſo long as it could be done, under the diſguiſe of a mock-government, for the wicked purpoſes of concealing the poſſeſſion thereof from the ruling powers of this kingdom, and for deceiving the Sovereign to whom they owed unalienable fidelity and allegiance.

It hath been alſo ſhewn, both in this and the preceding volume, that the ravages to which *Bengal* has been expoſed, of late years, under the management of the Company, have proceeded, in a great meaſure, from the arbitrary powers given to the perſons with whom they entruſted the government of thoſe provinces.

But nothing can be more impolitic than the placing of the Governors of diſtant provinces in uncontroulable ſituations. All deputed Governors hold power in depoſit only for the good of the community, and can poſſeſs no rights that are inconſiſtent with ſuch an end. While they diſcharge the duties of their high ſtations with integrity, they can have nothing to dread from the collective body of the governed; but each individual has every thing to fear from the paſſions, prejudices, weakneſſes, ignorance, or wickedneſs of Governors, when exerciſing unlimited authority, as few men will reſiſt ſtrong temptations to the abuſe of it. The want of ſuch dangerous power muſt, therefore, be the beſt ſecurity againſt the baneful practices of tyranny.

Perhaps there can be no ſituations in which the common good requires more or ſtronger legal reſtraints to be laid on Governors than in the ſubjugated provinces of *Aſia*. With the uncontrouled powers that have been deſcribed, they may there, with the utmoſt eaſe, enrich themſelves; while ſuch wealth will, at the ſame time, furniſh the means of prolongation to that power, and, together with the numberleſs difficulties and the delays that muſt unavoidably be encountered in purſuing juſtice againſt them, at ſuch a diſtance from the ſcene of action, will likewiſe ſecure to them eventual impunity in *Europe*.

With reſpect to the preſent adminiſtration of the *Britiſh* concerns in *Aſia*, the public therefore, in reality, have no ſecurity but in the great virtues of the gentlemen who have been lately appointed. And although, if we conſider the late act of parliament as a temporary expedient, it may be admitted, that the choice of government could not have fallen upon more eligible perſons, yet to expect the diſintereſted, unprejudiced, diſpaſſionate, and wiſe exertions of the powers of any man, or ſet of men, in ſuch ſituations, is leaving that to the guidance of chance which all experience ſhews

cannot be too ſtrongly guarded. The welfare of nations, therefore, cannot long be ſafely truſted to ſuch precarious expedients.

The ſcholaſtic or ſpeculative rights of a Sovereign *de jure*, who is not ſo *de facto*, were never known, even in *Aſia*, but as a ſcreen of uſurpation, and will not long ſtand the teſt of political experiment in *Europe*. But, as it hath been ſhewn, that the Company have actually thrown off their diſguiſes of dependance on his Imperial Majeſty, *Shah Allum*, and the *potent* Princes of *Bengal*, it is high time the Legiſlature of this kingdom ſhould completely aboliſh the double-government, which has ſo long ſerved as a blind to every ſpecies of iniquity.

Had the enormities which have been perpetrated in *Bengal*, under that cover, been no other than the firſt vexations and diſorders incident to conqueſt, many irregularities might have been readily overlooked. But when we conſider the ſubmiſſive diſpoſitions of the inhabitants, who have been ſo made to ſuffer; that, in the midſt of peace they have, by deliberate acts of tyranny, been cruelly haraſſed and oppreſſed; that they have been even deprived of their natural rights of trade by ruinous monopolies, not only of every article of commerce, but of the very neceſſaries of life; and that ſuch monopolies have been eſtabliſhed for the private emolument of the ruling uſurpers, who, for ſuch and other ſecret purpoſes, avowedly with-held from the *Britiſh* State the knowledge of their poſſeſſion of ſuch important territories: our admiration is excited at the forbearance of the *Britiſh* Legiſlature in paſſing no retroſpective act to puniſh, or even to expreſs their juſt abhorrence of, thoſe enormities which have been practiſed under ſuch a mock-government as hath diſgraced the nation in the eyes of all *Europe* and *Aſia*, without anſwering any national or worthy purpoſe of prudence or juſtice.

As to the Company's policy of obſtructing the inveſtments of other *European* nations by ſuch underhand management, in the preſent ſituation of their affairs in *Aſia*, it muſt appear no wiſer an attempt than that of ruining themſelves in order to injure their neighbours. But, can it be politic to hazard a war with *France*, or any other nation, for a few pieces of muſlins? When national complaints are made by the foreign Courts, will the Company now get rid of them by aſcribing their cauſes to a Mock-Nabob? Or will adminiſtration, by referring them to the Company? Should ſuch obſtructions be carried into the moſt effectual execution, will not the Company be eventually the loſers, in their aſſumed charac-

ter

ter of Sovereigns in *Bengal*? Or if the foreign nations, diſappointed of their own purchaſes there, ſhould prohibit the introduction of the *Indian* manufactures into their *European* dominions, will not the Company be likewiſe loſers in their mercantile capacities in *Europe*, from the failure of their ſales for re-exportation?

With reſpect to that part of the late act of parliament, for the better management of the Company's affairs, which relates to the commerce of *Bengal*, it may be remarked, that the natives have heretofore been compelled to reſign the trade of their country to *Europeans*, who are now wholly prohibited from trading in the articles of ſalt, beetlenut, tobacco, and rice. But, judging from what they have ſo often experienced, it is not to be expected that the natives will venture to engage in any great commercial undertaking in thoſe or any other articles, unleſs *Europeans* be privately concerned with them therein; for that conquerors ſhould place themſelves in worſe ſituations than the conquered, is a myſtery they cannot comprehend, nor will ever be made to believe.

If we examine what appears to have been the foundation of this prohibition, we ſhall find it to have been of the moſt ridiculous nature. It muſt have been either, that the *Europeans* did not pay ſufficient duties, or that by themſelves, or their *gomaſtahs*, they were guilty of abuſes in carrying on the trade. If the former was the evil, the remedy was to collect higher duties. If the latter, the eſtabliſhment of adequate puniſhments and reſtraints might have prevented thoſe abuſes. Without the agency of gomaſtahs, neither the native merchants or *Europeans* can carry on any trade whatever in *India*. But it appears, that becauſe abuſes are alleged to have been committed in the carrying on of this trade, towards the correction of which no puniſhments were ever effectually applied, or even ſeriouſly or rationally attempted, the trade has been prohibited altogether.

But this prohibition is equally impolitic in another light. In the firſt part of theſe *Conſiderations* it hath been ſhewn, that a ſpace of country, in the centre of the Company's poſſeſſions, extending two hundred and forty miles, from the iſland of *Sundeep* to the iſland of *Sagor*, remains to this day a deſart, over-run with wild beaſts, and yielding nothing but wood, wax, and ſalt; of which laſt article it is capable of producing more than all the reſt of the ſalt-pergunnahs in *Bengal* together. In the ſame volume it hath alſo been * ſhewn, that under the government of the native Nabobs,

* *Conſiderations, &c.* vol. I. note in page 200.

foreign

foreign merchants, from even ſo diſtant a country as *Caſſmeer*, were encouraged to reſort to thoſe woods, called *Sunderbund*, where they erected works, called * *Tofalls*, for the making of ſalt; which enhanced the revenue, by clearing lands that would otherwiſe have remained unoccupied.

Now the enterprizing activity and the vigour of *Europeans*, which are moſt likely to contribute to the reaping of thoſe advantages which may naturally be expected from ſo extenſive a country, cannot be too much encouraged; and all the arguments that can be advanced to juſtify the prohibition of their trading in ſalt, beetlenut, tobacco, and rice, are equally ſtrong againſt every other article of commerce in *India*, whether carried on by *Europeans* or natives, and may therefore with equal propriety be applied to the abolition of all trade whatever.

Little did the writer imagine, after what he had proved in the firſt part of this work, that the Legiſlature of a great kingdom, whoſe wealth and power are founded on commerce, would have made trading in *India* a crime; or that a magnanimous people, from whom Monarchs have been accuſtomed to receive their crowns, would be reduced to begging, from a deputation of a few fellow-ſubjects, of licenſes even for the mere liberty of breathing in any part of the globe beyond the promontories of *Africa* and *South America*.——But, to return to our ſubject.——

The reader hath been ſhewn the different ſituation of *Bengal*, under a reſtrained or fettered trade, contraſted with an univerſal freedom therein. It hath been likewiſe ſhewn, that the practice of ſtationing *chokeys*, for the collection of duties on the tranſit of goods, hath furniſhed the means of great oppreſſion. To ſay the truth, chokeys only ſerve to infeſt the public roads and paſſages; and in the preſent ſtate of *Bengal* can never be put under ſuch regulations as will effectually reſtrain the abuſes committed by the officers called *Chokeydárs*. The injuries which the country hath ſuſtained from the obſtruction of its commerce by ſuch impoſitions muſt neceſſarily have over-balanced every conſideration of advantage from the amount of duties ſo collected.

It hath been alſo ſhewn, that, although an indiſcriminate cry hath been raiſed againſt *gomaſtahs* in general, rarely any have ever had the influence or power requiſite for committing grievous oppreſ-

* This fact is confirmed by a letter to the Board from Meſſrs. *Cartier*, *Senior*, *Leycester*, and *French*; dated the 10th *January* 1763. See Reports, vol. III. page 342.

ſions,

ſions, but thoſe employed by men in high ſtations, or for account of the Company. And whether the Company have their inveſtment provided by *gomaſtahs*, or on contract, by the intervention of *Dadney* merchants, no regulations for the prevention of ſuch abuſes as have been and will be practiſed, under the ſanction of their name, influence, and power, will ever be rendered effectual until they themſelves ſhall deſiſt from all acts of reſtraint and violence on the manufacturers, and purchaſe their inveſtments, in every reſpect, on the ſame footing as private merchants.

In ſuch a ſtate of things, to multiply regulations is to multiply the means of oppreſſion; ſo that the moſt natural and effectual remedies ſeem to be, the taking away of all temptations for abuſe, by eſtabliſhing an univerſal freedom in trade to all men, in every article produced in the country; with the entire abolition of all duties whatever.——Inſtead of granting licenſes for purchaſing and ſelling, let it be made a crime to demand of any merchant his authority for either.——Inſtead of collecting duties at *Chokeys*, or any where elſe, let it be made a crime ſeverely puniſhable to ſtop any man's goods on the highways, in the paſſages of rivers, or at the paſſes on the mountains, upon any pretence whatever.——Inſtead of ſtationing *peons*, to watch the weavers and cut their unfiniſhed webs from the looms, let regulated markets be eſtabliſhed, for the public ſale of their cloths, in every *Aurung* or manufacturing village; where the utmoſt vigilance ſhould be exerted to protect them from oppreſſion in the diſpoſal of their goods.

Monopoly will then be prevented on the moſt ſolid and permanent grounds, becauſe men will rarely find it practicable or advantageous to engroſs, when circumvented by the unreſtrained exertions of an induſtrious and numerous people, in ſo fertile and extenſive a country. The loſs of duties on ſuch a plan would be an object of ſo little moment, that to regret it would be like grudging to part with the ſeed that is neceſſary for an enſuing crop, for ſuch loſs would be ſoon amply compenſated by the increaſe of agriculture, population, and manufactories. As the Company, or government, would then naturally reap great advantage in the revenues, from the conſequent influx of wealth, they could have nothing to fear from the ſyſtem of ſuch an univerſal freedom of trade.

But there are other conſiderations which ought to command the ſerious attention of government. Such a plan would ſoon render the manufactures as abundant and cheap as they were when *Bengal* was

governed by its native Princes. It would then reſtore the maritime commerce and the frontier traffic, many branches whereof may, perhaps, never otherwiſe be retrieved; and it would effectually prevent all diſputes with foreign nations, who have factories eſtabliſhed in thoſe countries.

The objections which may be oppoſed to this plan, are ſuch, it is to be feared, as will ariſe wholly from the private intereſts of ſuch *Europeans* as are ſent out to *India to be provided for*; and who will not approve of being reduced, in their trade, to a level with the natives. Yet, to a mind unfettered by national prejudices, it would be difficult to offer a convincing reaſon, why men in *India* ſhould not be placed on the ſame natural ground as the reſt of their ſpecies in other countries, where fortunes can only be acquired by the means of ſuperior induſtry, genius, or abilities? Or to a man, not void of humanity, why the inhabitants of *Bengal* ſhould not be allowed the full enjoyment of thoſe natural benefits which their native ſoil preſents to them? To ſuch men Lord *Clive* has furniſhed an anſwer, which, although it cannot be quoted for its ſincerity on the occaſion for which it was uſed, is extremely applicable to our preſent ſubject:

* "Is there a man anxious for the ſpeedy return of his ſon, "his brother, or his friend, and ſolicitous to ſee that return ac- "companied by affluence of fortune, indifferent to the means by "which it may have been obtained? Is there a man who, void of "all but ſelfiſh-feelings, can with-hold his approbation of any plan "that promiſes not ſudden riches to thoſe his deareſt connexions; "who can look with contempt upon meaſures of moderation; and "who can cheriſh all *upſtart greatneſs, though ſtigmatized with the "ſpoils of the Company?* If there is ſuch a man, to him all argu- "ments would be vain; to him I ſpeak not."

The confuſion of ideas that has ariſen from the miſrepreſentations of artful men, and the narrow principles by which the *Britiſh Eaſt India* affairs have been conducted for ſome years paſt, may poſſibly furniſh inſuperable obſtacles to the adoption of ſuch a plan at this time. Perhaps we may deſpair of ever ſeeing ſo juſt and generous an out-line adopted, under the ſyſtem of this united excluſive Company, whoſe foundation was laid in injuſtice, and whoſe commercial and political affairs, in *Aſia* and in *Europe*, from

* See the 23d parag. of Lord *Clive*'s letter to the Directors of the 30th *September* 1765. Reports, vol. III. page 397.

its firſt eſtabliſhment to the preſent time, it is demonſtrable, have been conſtantly carried on in a train of dark intrigues, deceptions, and partial jobs, for the benefit of the few, to the injury of the many.

We have already ventured our opinion, founded on this experience, and on the immutable nature of things, that an excluſive company is no longer neceſſary for the beneficially carrying on of the trade between *Great Britain* and *Aſia*. On the contrary, from the recent practice of other nations, and the preſent ſtate of *India*, we have ventured to foretell, that, in a very few years government will be convinced of the propriety of laying this trade open, under certain regulations, if it mean to derive any permanent benefit from the national commerce and territories in *Aſia*; and not the ſuffering of a commercial ſociety, when their trade fails, or the avarice of their ſervants prompts the expedient, to have recourſe to the ſpoils of nations and the plunder of Princes.

Such an alteration, it is conceived, might be effected with preſerving to this kingdom all the advantages which it ever derived from the exportation of ſtaple productions, and the duties on goods imported under the monopoly. It is beyond a doubt, that if the merchants of this metropolis, together with thoſe of the great commercial ports of *Liverpool*, *Briſtol*, *Hull*, *Glaſgow*, *Leith*, *Dublin*, and *Corke*, were at liberty to fit out ſhips for *India*, there would not be wanting many private ſocieties of wealthy merchants who, together, would be equal to as extenſive, nay and to far greater exportations and importations than were ever effectuated by the excluſive Company. When ſuch an alteration ſhall take place, in the natural courſe of events, many among the firſt private adventurers may make fortunes, while others may be ruined. But commerce, like the waters on which it is conducted, will find its own level; and after the refluent violence of the firſt torrent had ſubſided, the open trade to and from *India* might with wiſdom be directed ſteadily to flow in manifold new channels, to the great advantage of theſe kingdoms.

But, while we leave the completion of ſuch an event to the accompliſhment of future time and experience, let us briefly conſider the meaſures which appear expedient in order to produce ſuch ſalutary effects as may be brought about by equity and humanity, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, whether commerce or conqueſt be the object of government.

The moſt obvious and the leaſt precarious of all riches are the products of the earth, and the manufactures which are raiſed from native raw-materials. No country can be more abundantly ſtored with theſe than *Bengal*; where the natives never required any encouragements for their induſtry, in agriculture or manufacturing, until the baneful government of the *Engliſh* Company rendered them needful. From the ſimplicity of their manners, and the mildneſs of their diſpoſitions, as well as from every other circumſtance of a political nature, no people on earth can be more eaſy to govern than the natives of *Bengal*. But for the proſperity of that, as of all other countries, it is neceſſary the Governors ſhould have ſincerely at heart the good of thoſe whom they govern. Perhaps that of itſelf is ſufficient to inſure the happineſs of any people whatever, abſtruſe complex-laws being no way neceſſary to a nation's welfare; for in politics, as in falſe religion, it will generally be found, that when myſtery begins, honeſty will ſoon end.

It hath been ſhewn that, in the ancient ſtate of *Bengal*, the duties on trade were never a primary object of conſideration to the government; whoſe grand purpoſes were at all times ſerved by an univerſal eſtabliſhed ground-rent. Mr. *Locke* and other great writers have demonſtratively ſhewn, that this is the point in which all duties and taxes ultimately terminate. In *Bengal*, however, as there is no neceſſity for ſtudying the various intricacies incident to the arts of *European* finances, ſo it will be happy for the natives, if their preſent rulers never depart from that ancient ſyſtem, which never can be deviated from, but to the introduction of confuſion, oppreſſion, and iniquity.

If therefore the poſition be true, as we are inclined to believe, that "the commerce of *Bengal* is a clear and intrinſic gain to it, "equal to the whole amount of its annual exports," the art of governing that country will be comprized in few words: OBSTRUCT NOT THE PLOW OR THE SHUTTLE. It is evident, the proſperity of the country will then depend wholly on the upright adminiſtration of juſtice; in which ſituation *Bengal* might be governed with a fifth-part of the ſums that are now annually ſquandered, in ſuch exceſſive civil and military eſtabliſhments as ſeem to have been kept up chiefly for the purpoſes of gratifying the avarice and ambition of individuals.

It may be thought much eaſier to find out errors than to redreſs them; but the diſcovery of the cauſe is the firſt ſtep towards the cure

cure of a diſorder: and he who does his beſt to remedy the evils he diſcovers, diſcharges his duty to ſociety. On this principle, in the firſt part of *Conſiderations*, &c. the writer preſumed to recommend ſuch remedies, to the diſeaſes he pointed out, as might have been applied without infringement of any legal rights of the Company; and might have preſerved the *Bengal* provinces from the ruin which threatened them, at leaſt until the expiration of the Company's charter, without altering their conſtitution. But the *Britiſh* parliament have, in their wiſdom, thought proper to advance much farther, although they have choſen to ſuffer the continuance of the multiform monſter of a double-government, rather than remove it; and, inſtead of remedying ſome of the principal evils, have only changed their form. Having, however, from facts within his own knowledge and experience, ventured to point out the grand errors which ſtill exiſt in the preſent ſyſtem of the *Britiſh* trade and government in *India*, it is incumbent on the writer, before he lays down his pen, to recapitulate ſuch as appear to be their moſt natural remedies.

FIRST,—For the rendering of juſtice more eaſily attainable againſt men inveſted with authority or power in *India*.

I. To repeal thoſe parts of the late act of parliament (13th of *Geo.* III.) which enable the Governor and Supreme Council of *Bengal* forcibly to tranſport their fellow-ſubjects from *India*; and, in lieu thereof, to define and try the crimes which are deemed deſerving of ſuch puniſhment, and inflict adequate penalties on the ſpot.

II. To compel men inveſted with ſuch authority or power, to remain a limited time, at leaſt twelve months, in *India*, after quitting their employments and deſcending to the ſtations of private men.

III. To free the *Britiſh* Courts of Juſtice, that is, the Mayor and Aldermen at *Fort St. George*, and *Bombay* (at *Bencoolen* there are none) from the terrors under which they labour, by rendering them independent of the Governor and Council at thoſe reſpective Preſidencies; and by conſtituting them Juſtices of the Peace, and Commiſſioners of Oyer and Terminer, and General Gaol Delivery, equally with the Members of the ſaid Councils.

SECONDLY,

SECONDLY,—For the better ſecuring of juſtice to the natives in the interior parts of the *Bengal* provinces.

I. To make it unlawful and highly penal for *Europeans*, their banyans, or other dependants, to preſide as Judges, or to terfere in any buſineſs of the Cutcherries or inland Courts of Juſtice; but to eſtabliſh native Judges, irremoveable for life; except for miſconduct in office, upon conviction before the ſupreme Court at *Calcutta*.

II. To eſtabliſh the modes of deciſion by juries and arbitrators, among the natives, as recommended in the ſeventh chapter.

THIRDLY,—For the proſperity of the inland-trade and maritime commerce of *Bengal*, and to ſecure its permanency.

I. To allow an univerſal freedom to all men, of buying, ſelling, or dealing in every article produced or conſumed in the country.

II. To aboliſh all duties and *Chokeys* throughout the interior provinces, or to ſubject the Company's inveſtment to the ſame duties as are paid by the natives or other individuals.

III. To eſtabliſh public markets at all the *Aurungs*, or great manufacturing towns, where the whole care of government ſhould be exerted to prevent forcible purchaſes or ſales, and to guard the manufacturers from oppreſſion.

The effects of ſuch regulations would inevitably raiſe a laſting and glorious monument to the juſtice of *Great Britain*. But before their ſalutary effects could be experienced, ſome years muſt elapſe. Under the beſt laws, it will require time to reſtore the manufactures and trade of the *Bengal* provinces, from the pernicious effects which, during the laſt fifteen years, have been produced by the operation of the Company's duſtuck, and the regulations of their Directors and other ſervants. Under an oppreſſive native Prince, however long lived, the natives have had ſome diſtant proſpect of relief from the friendly interpoſition of death; but they have found the Company to be a many-headed monſter that never dies. The inhabitants who have fled from their country, or abandoned their profeſſions,

profeſſions, muſt have time to recover from their apprehenſions of being again conſtrained to work for the Company, on ſuch conditions as they pleaſe to preſcribe, before they return to the loom and the plough in their native provinces. It will therefore neceſſarily require time to convince thoſe natives, that *Europeans* who have been ſo long their tyrants, are at laſt become their protectors.

In fine, the great and laſting proſperity, or the entire and ſpeedy loſs of the *Aſiatic* provinces, muſt henceforth depend on the preſervation therein of an entire freedom in trade, a righteous adminiſtration of power, and an uninterrupted courſe of impartial and efficient juſtice. With protection and ſecurity in ſuch rights, every rational hope of advantage to this kingdom may fairly be indulged: but otherwiſe, if the inordinate gratification of individuals ſhould be ſuffered to continue, the poſſeſſion of thoſe countries will ſoon become burthenſome, if not (what GOD avert) a curſe to the nation.

The progreſs of falſhood and deluſion in the *India* affairs of this kingdom has been great, becauſe ſupported by the enormous riches, and impelled by the never ſatiated intereſts, prejudices, paſſions, avarice, and ambition of deſigning men; while Truth, with only the good of mankind on her ſide, is not much regarded, and but feebly defended, againſt ſuch powerful opponents. But time ſeldom fails to re-eſtabliſh the empire of Truth; and the ſyſtem which the writer hath preſumed to ſubmit to public conſideration, he leaves to the verification of future experience; confident, that when the prejudices of all parties and their fomenters ſhall be extinct, it will ſtand the teſt.

FINIS.

FINIS.